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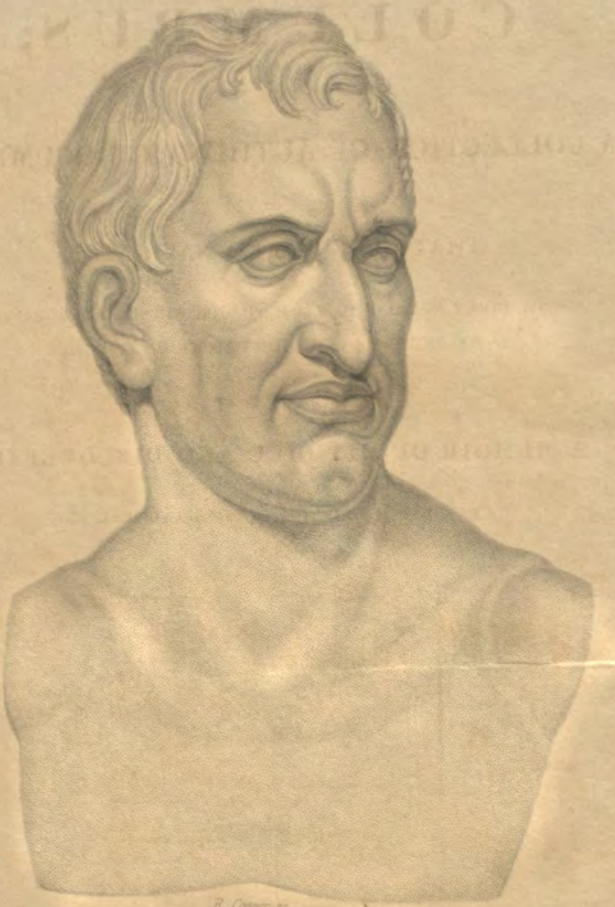
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MEMORIALS

OF

COLUMBUS.

London : Printed by C. Roworth,
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R. Cooper sc.

Christopher Columbus.

Taken from the Marble Bust on his Monument at Genoa.

MEMORIALS

OF

COLUMBUS;

OR

A COLLECTION OF AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS

OF

THAT CELEBRATED NAVIGATOR,

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS,
BY ORDER OF THE DECURIONS OF GENOA;

PRECEDED BY

A MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE AND DISCOVERIES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH AND ITALIAN.



VV 927

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1823.

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HISTORICAL MEMOIR

OF

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

AND

HIS DISCOVERIES.

BY

D. GIO. BATISTA SPOTORNO,

Professor of Eloquence, Director of the Public Schools, and Doctor in Philosophy and the Arts in the Royal University of Genoa.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN.


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HISTORICAL MEMOIR

OF

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

WHEN the Athenians were desirous of doing honour to the memory of Miltiades, who had exterminated the immense host of the Persians with a handful of Greeks, they decreed that he should be painted in the Peciles in the act of giving the signal for that memorable combat. And the idea was a wise one, that such a picture was a more honourable monument than one more sumptuous; because if any youth of Attica, or stranger, after contemplating the picture in the Peciles, should inquire,—who is he

who is directing the small army against that torrent of soldiers? he would be instantly answered by some old Athenian—"*that* is Miltiades—*there* is the field of Marathon—the handful are the Greeks, and the countless host are the flower of Asia, collected for our destruction, and dissipated by the ability of the Athenian Commander." Of a kind with this idea of that Athens from which we derive so much elegant learning and so many noble examples, I regard the determination of the most illustrious Decurions of Genoa to publish this *Codex diplomaticus* of Christopher Columbus, the immortal discoverer of America. In fact, as this Collection was a present sent by the hero himself to a Genoese friend to be preserved in his native country, and is now published by the decree of the Civil Magistracy of Genoa; and as it contains new information both of the unknown hemisphere he dis-

covered as well as of the hardy navigator who was bold enough to commit himself to the ocean in search of it, whoever takes up this volume must say to himself, and to whoever hears him—" here we have at last the documents of that great man to whom we are indebted for the new world; he himself presented them to his country, and she now presents them to the whole civilized world." The publication of them therefore has the same object with regard to Columbus which the picture in the Peciles was intended to effect respecting Miltiades; with this difference, that to see the battle of Marathon it was necessary to go to Athens; but in our case, it is the volume itself which, distributed in the various countries of the globe, will convey to them the glory of Columbus and of his country; a glory which, in the opinion of a French poet, (the author of an epic poem entitled *Christophe Colomb,*) equalled that of Athens,

the cradle of Miltiades, in the days of her greatest renown:—

"Il naquit dans les murs de la superbe Gènes,
Dont la gloire égala les plus beaux jours d'Athènes."

The reasons which induced Columbus to send a copy of this invaluable collection of documents to his countrymen,—the vicissitudes it has undergone,—why it is only now published,—the care that has been taken to give a correct transcript of the originals, and a faithful translation of them, will be all explained in this Memoir. But before I enter into these minute details, I propose to give a brief sketch of the history of our hero; a task rendered necessary for two reasons; the first, that it has been the practice of the best editors of such works to prefix Memoirs of the Author; and the second, that, speaking candidly, we have not yet an accurate life of the discoverer of America. It is true that his son, Don Ferdinand, wrote one,

but his performance has by no means satisfied intelligent readers; and, besides, he wanted a great deal of information, which has since been discovered in the different archives of Italy. Recently, the Cavalier Bossi has compiled a life, illustrated by numerous notes and a few original documents; but his excessive confidence in the authority of certain writers has prevented him from giving that degree of accuracy to several parts of his work which is so necessary in such researches.

Previous to commencing my narrative of the actions of Columbus, I think it proper to mention, to clear up what follows, that there are five different opinions respecting the country of this illustrious man. The first is that of the noble family of Colombo of Modena, which believes that the navigator was of their house; but this opinion has not been taken up by any author, and must be of very recent date, as both

Muratori and Tiraboschi, anxious as they were for the glory of Modena, and although they had occasion to speak of the matter, say nothing of it. The second is of still more recent date, and has for its author a physician, (Dr. Ravina, if the rumour which went abroad last year is correct,) who has written a dissertation to shew that Columbus was of Cosseria, a place situated between Le Carcare and Millesimo. The third is that of the Canon Campi of Placentia, who has endeavoured to prove that the humble village of Pradello, above that of Placentia, was the cradle of the hero. His reasons may be seen in a dissertation inserted in the third volume of his *Ecclesiastical History of Placentia*, a very mediocre performance. This hypothesis dates subsequent to 1600, as may be collected from Campi's own work, and confirmed by the poem of Cavalier Stigliani, entitled *Il Mondo Nuovo, (The New World,)* as the poet,

in the dedication of his book to Ranuccio, the Sovereign of Placentia, (where the poem was published by Bazachi in 1617,) no where mentions the opinion favourable to the Placentians, but, on the contrary, always speaks of Genoa as the country of Columbus. In the sixteenth stanza of the first canto, for instance, he makes Columbus thus speak:—

"Dimmel tu, perchè in Genoa al nido mio
Torni a vivermi in umile quiete."

A fourth hypothesis places his birth-place at Cuccaro, a castle of Monferrat, making him the eldest son of the noble house of Colombo, at that time rich, and distinguished by its property and connections. This opinion also has no support from any of the older writers: on the contrary, the *Asia* of Barros, translated by Alfonso Ulloa, and dedicated in 1562 to the Duke of Mantua, at that time Marquis of Monferrat, gives a decided confirmation

to the fifth, which is the oldest and most generally accredited; namely, that Genoa is the birth-place and the country of the discoverer of America. The reasons of the Signori Colombo of Cuccaro may be seen in a book printed at Florence in 1808, and in a dissertation published in the twenty-seventh volume of the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Turin. The monuments and the arguments of the Genoese may be seen in Antonio Gallo; in the Annals and the Psalter of Giustiniani; in the notes of Giulio Salinero upon Tacitus; in the Annals of Casoni; in the Eulogium of Columbus printed by Bodoni; in a learned dissertation published by the Academicians of Genoa in the third volume of their Transactions; in my own work on the family and country of Columbus, printed in 1819; in the Life by Bossi, already alluded to; and in the Notices of the Family of Columbus collected by Belloro, printed at

Turin, at the expence of Baron Vernazza, councillor of his Majesty, and reprinted at Genoa by Frugoni. Having prefixed these notices, I shall commence my narrative, which, if written with the requisite clearness, will, by its proofs, cut short the disputes of the contending parties.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was born at Genoa. Of this he himself makes a solemn declaration, in his testament of 1498, quoted by Salinero and by Herrera; admitted to be a genuine document by Balthazar Columbus, of Cuccaro, one of the pretendants to the inheritance of the hero; and finally published entire by the Genoese academicians, who have thus silenced all the objections which were started against its authenticity, at the time when only the imperfect copy of it was known, which was printed in the Dissertation of 1808. The Edinburgh Reviewers, (No. LIV. p. 501. 1816,) after a careful examination of the

opposite arguments, and the testament, according to the best edition, were thence led to pronounce that there was no reason to doubt its authenticity, so perfect and entire did it appear to them. Conformable to the testament is the evidence of Ferdinand Columbus, who states that his father was *conterraneo* (of the same country) with Mons. Agostino Giustiniani, who was, beyond all doubt, born at Genoa, in 1470. This learned and excellent prelate certifies, in his *Polyglot Psalter*, that Columbus was born in that city; and with him agree the Doge Fregoso, and the grave historians Gallo and Senarega, and other contemporaries of Columbus. Having, therefore, his own declaration, and the testimony of his son, and the coeval historians, knowing from the acts of the law-suit that the advocates of Cuccaro were obliged to retract the rash assertion, that Columbus was born in Monferrat, we may reasonably wonder,

along with Bossi, at the hardihood of that priest, who, in the sixteenth century, was not afraid to swear that the discoverer of America was actually born in the castle of Cuccaro. (*Life of Columbus*, p. 48.) It is not so certain in what part of the city he was born. A subscription of Giovanni de Camerana, made on the third of May, 1311, (of which there is an extract in the Notaries Register, Berio MSS. vol. 3. part 2. p. 22.) informs us that Giacomo Colombo, wool-carder, son of q^{m}. Guglielmo, resided *extra portam S. Andreae.* An agreement, (published by the Genoese academicians,) concluded in 1489, proves that Domenico Colombo possessed a house and shop, well and garden, *nella contrada di porta S. Andrea,* (in the street of St. Andrew's gate;) which is equivalent to the *extra portam*, as anciently the circle of the walls of Genoa terminated at the plain of St. Andrew, where the arch of the gate is

still to be seen. But we also know that Domenico had another house, in the lane of Mulcento, which he rented of the monks of San Stefano. In which of these two Christopher was born, it is impossible to ascertain. It is to be observed, however, that the lane of Mulcento leads from the street of St. Andrew to the Strada Giulia; and as both these houses of Domenico stood in that part of Genoa which lies between the ancient circle of St. Andrew and St. Dominic, as far as the Piazza de Ponticello; there is every degree of probability, if not moral certainty, that Columbus was born in that part of the city; most likely in the parish of St. Stephen, according to the ancient tradition, mentioned by Ferrari, in his *Liguria trionfante*, by the historian Casoni, and by the learned notary Piaggio.

The year of his birth, as I have proved elsewhere, must have been either 1446 or

1447. His mother's name was Susanna, as we learn from the agreement already referred to; Casoni gives her the surname, well known in Genoa, of *Fontanarossa*, and states her to have been a native of Sauli, or Sori, a village on the shores of the Mediterranean; where the old Columbuses possessed a house, as appears from an inventory of the goods of the deceased Oberto Colombo, made by Bensevega, his widow, and the guardian of his minor children, and signed the 9th of January, 1238. (Berio MSS. vol. 1. p. 108.)

Our hero was the eldest of the sons, and was probably named Christopher, after a Columbus of that name, who was living at Genoa in 1440, as has been observed in some manuscript notices, found among the papers of the celebrated senator Federici. The second son was named Bartholomew, and the third, Giacomo, who was afterwards called Diego in Spain. The name

of a sister, who was married to Giacomo Bavarello, a cheesemonger, has not reached us. Christopher had such an education as might be expected from a poor wool-carder. He learned reading and writing, and the first elements of arithmetic; and in the occupation of carding wool along with his brother Bartholomew, his early days passed in obscurity. We are not at all ashamed to make this sincere avowal of the lowness of his condition, and to any one disposed to make it matter of reproach, would answer frankly, in the words of the noble Giulio Salinero: "this wool-carder will one day be so great and distinguished, that he would not disgrace the most illustrious families in Europe." At fourteen years of age, he went to sea, and continued in the profession of a sailor until his death. We have no account of his first voyages. We may collect from his letters, quoted by Ferdinand, (chap. iv.) that he had been in all parts of

the Mediterranean, and that at Scio, an island belonging to the noble Giustinianis of Genoa, he saw the extraction of mastick from the lentisk tree. In the year 1472, he went to Savona, to which city his father Domenico had, two years before, transferred his residence and woollen manufactory. It is not true, however, that the young Columbus resided in that city; this would be inconsistent with chronology, as, being born in 1447, and having become a sailor in 1461, he could not reside in Savona, where his father only first settled in 1469. For the information that Columbus arrived at Savona in 1472, and there subscribed a testament as a witness, we are indebted to Sig. Agostino Bianchi, author of the interesting work published under the modest title of *Observations on the Climate, &c. of Liguria*, vol. 1. p. 143.

Christopher became captain of a ship of war, in the service of Réné d'Anjou, Lord

of Provence, and King of Naples; who was unable to defend his kingdom against the arms of the wily Alfonso of Arragon, who possessed himself of the kingdom, leaving Réné only the empty title. This circumstance we know from a letter written by Columbus to the King of Spain, in 1495, from which Ferdinand (chap. iv.) quotes the following passage: "It happened that King Réné (whom God has taken to himself) ordered me to Tunis, that I might take the galley Fernandina; and having arrived near the island of St. Peter, in Sardinia, I was told that this galley had two other vessels and a carack in company with her. This intelligence so much alarmed the crew of my vessel, that they determined to proceed no farther, but to turn back to Marseilles for another vessel and more people; seeing that I could not otherwise than by stratagem keep them in order, I affected to yield to their wishes, and changing

the point of the compass, made the vessel sail before the wind, it being then late. Next morning, at sun-rise, we were within the Cape of Carthagena; while every one imagined that we were sailing towards Marseilles." From the annals of Genoa and of Italy, we learn that Réné was at first assisted by the Genoese, with ships and men; that he was afterwards at war with them; and that finally, becoming old, and losing all hope of regaining his kingdom, he retired, in 1473, into Provence, where he died not long after. Probably the expedition of Columbus to Tunis belongs to that year, 1473.

About 1475, Columbus commanded a squadron of Genoese ships and galleys, with which he passed in the face of the Venetian squadron, sent to protect the island of Cyprus, and, calling out *St. George for ever!* was not only not molested by the Venetians, but allowed by them to pass

quietly. This fact is mentioned in a letter of two Milanese gentlemen, who were coming from Soria, for the knowledge of which we are indebted to Bossi, who found it in the archives at Milan. Thus falls to the ground the great argument of the advocates of Cuccaro: *from Genoa Columbus never received any thing but a refusal of his proposal,* (Dissertation of 1808, p. 305.) and thus the question becomes wholly superfluous, *what benefits did Columbus ever receive from Genoa?* (Idem, p. 351.) That the son of a poor wool-carder should be made captain of a fleet, will be allowed to be no inconsiderable benefit.

Such are the genuine notices of Columbus's voyages in the Mediterranean, to which I may add a circumstance in a MS. belonging to Sig. Rogerone, a Genoese engraver, namely, that the name of Columbus is registered in the book of losses by sea, under the year 1476.

We must now quit the Mediterranean, to follow our navigator into the immense expanse of ocean. Whoever will take the trouble to read the Genoese annals of Giustiniani, (Ann. 1476,) and those of Italy by Muratori, may soon form an idea of the motives which induced Columbus to quit the service of his country. Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, a prince of weak judgment, fond of novelty, timid in dangers, and haughty in prosperity, annoyed the Genoese in a thousand ways, and spread division between the nobles and the people. Their city was full of fear, and suspicion, and bitter enmities; the prudent were apprehensive of great commotions; the nobles were unable to restrain the people; each class was afraid of the other, and both dreaded Galeazzo. In such a state of civil disturbance, what was a man like Columbus to do? He repaired to Lisbon, where his brother Bartholomew, an able cosmographer, found

employment in the preparation of sailing charts for navigators. Portugal was famous for the ardour of her navy, and distinguished by the discoveries she had made of various countries of Africa; thither also repaired all the Italians, who were thirsting for glory, or anxious to better their fortunes. The Genoese lived there in great numbers; and by their talents, skill, maritime ardour, and their wealth, contributed, in no small degree, to the advancement of geographical science.

On his arrival at Lisbon, where, besides his brother, *he found many of* HIS GENOESE COUNTRYMEN, (the very words of his son, the historian,) Columbus did not remain long idle; but set out immediately on a very arduous voyage, during which he went, in February, 1477, as far as the 73d degree of north latitude, or, as he himself expresses it, 100 leagues beyond the Thule of Ptolemy, then called Friesland, and by the

moderns, Iceland. And as he farther remarks, that the land which he reached, "does not fall within the line which includes the west of Ptolemy, but is much more westerly," the learned believe that he reached the coast of Greenland; and thus, without being aware of it, found himself in that new world, which he afterwards discovered with so much courage and good fortune.

He undertook several other voyages, especially to Guinea, to England, and to the islands possessed by Spain and Portugal in the western ocean. And these voyages were, no doubt, a real school to this great man. He took notes of every thing he saw, compared them with books of voyages and cosmography, and with the generally received opinions; made himself master also of the slight stock of astronomy and mathematics which could then be acquired; and was a willing student of his-

tory, philosophy and religious subjects. He drew maps, and made globes, and in proportion to the number of his acquirements, his thirst for every thing extraordinary gained strength; to the activity of his enthusiastic mind the ancient hemisphere appeared too narrow, and the navigators of his own time too timid.

In the midst of his other cares, he happened to meet several times, in Lisbon, at the church of All Saints, where he went to mass, a young gentlewoman named Donna Philippa, whom he afterwards married. She was the daughter of Pedro Pelestrello, son or nephew of Bartholomew Pelestrello of Placentia, a gentleman of the household of Don John, Infant of Portugal. This Pelestrello went, in the year 1420, to colonize the island of Porto Santo, (accidentally discovered by two Portugueze, who had been driven into it by a dreadful storm,) and, for his services in that capacity, had

the government of the island conferred on him and his descendants in perpetuity. This information we derive from Cadamosto, (who had been in the island, and conversed with Pelestrello,) and from Barros, the most trustworthy historian of the Portugueze voyages, (*Asia*, chap. 2. and 3.) whose work comes down to 1539, and who had before him the manuscript relations of the discoveries made by his countrymen. On the faith of such testimony, we must consider Ferdinand Columbus either as a deceiver, or deceived, in giving us to understand that *Pedro* Pelestrello was a great navigator, and the discoverer of the island of Porto Santo. Reverting to Philippa, she had already lost her father at the period of her marriage; in consequence of which, she and her husband went to live with her sister-in-law, a lady of the family of Mogniz. This marriage was of great service to Columbus; it made him be looked upon

almost as a citizen of Lisbon; connected him with noble families; gave him access to the papers of his wife's ancestor, and thereby increased his stock of geographical and maritime knowledge. Added to this, Philippa had a sister, married to Pedro Correa, from whom Columbus derived some useful information, as we shall see presently.

In the mean time, he was revolving in his mind the idea of committing himself to the ocean for the purpose of finding new countries; or the possibility of arriving, by circumnavigating the globe, at the western coast of Asia. This was by no means a new idea with the Genoese; two centuries before, Tedisio Doria and Ugolino Vivaldi, animated by some such project, perished in the waves, or were driven by the winds to parts from whence they never returned. The Canary islands were also discovered in the thirteenth century, by Genoese, as we learn from Petrarch and

Boccacio. Antonio Noli, *concivo* (fellow citizen) of Columbus, (as Barros, translated by Ulloa, mentions,) discovered the Cape de Verd islands. To a generous mind, emulation is always a powerful stimulus. To the example of the Genoese navigators were added the arguments and information of his brother Bartholomew, a most able geographer. Christopher also consulted Paolo Toscanelli, a Florentine natural philosopher, whose answers to his queries may be found in Don Ferdinand's history, and in several modern works. A great deal has been written and argued as to whether the idea was his own, or if he had taken it from the verbal or written information of some pilot; and what were the reasons which induced him to undertake the glorious enterprise. It appears to me, that a clear explanation of a few principles will unravel to us the great web of Columbus's project.

I. He was convinced that the earth was a globe of spherical shape; this may be deduced from the opposition made to his plan in the Spanish council, some member of which maintained that there were no antipodes, and consequently, that Columbus's idea was altogether chimerical: which objection was satisfactorily answered by Columbus's friend, Alessandro Geraldini, who happened to be present at the meeting. Now that the spherical figure of the earth has been ascertained, the argument of Bartholomew Columbus, mentioned by Giustiniani, in his notes to the Psalter, is unanswerable: by sailing in a direction between west and south, you will either discover unknown countries, or you will reach the coast of Asia. The advantages of the attempt were therefore certain, even if no new countries were discovered.

II. Columbus, being acquainted with the works of the best geographers, and the nar-

ratives of voyages left by preceding navigators, and knowing how many degrees there were from China to the meridian of Greenland, had no difficulty in reckoning how many degrees there remained to traverse. And not only the degrees, but the miles; as we learn from his letter, published by Morelli, that he had calculated the degree to the equinoctial line of the sun, at $56\frac{2}{3}$ miles (Italian). Consequently, as he was certain that the form of the earth was spherical, when he had calculated the number of miles from the meridian of Greenland, which he knew, to China, nothing remained for him to do but to commit himself to the waves. So much as to the first part of his plan, which was to find a maritime road to the extreme shores of Asia.

III. Respecting the other part of the plan, namely, the discovery of new countries in an unknown hemisphere, many

powerful reasons flattered him with the prospect of making such discoveries. He, in a certain degree, had an introduction to them, in his voyages to Madeira, Porto Santo, the Canary and Cape de Verd islands, and to Greenland; once actually separated from the known world, all is afterwards open to navigation.

IV. He knew also, from Pedro Correa, and other navigators, that during the prevalence of strong westerly winds, the waves of the sea brought to the shores of the Azores, of Madeira and Porto Santo, productions and objects unknown in Europe, such as pines of a different species, and canes of extraordinary size, and, what was much more to the purpose, pieces of wood carved with extraordinary skill, in which, however, it was recognized, that no iron instruments were used. The attentive consideration of which led Columbus to three conclusions; first, that as

strong winds blew from the west, there must be land in that direction; second, that as these winds brought to Madeira, trees and canes of an unknown species, the land where they were produced could not be at an immense distance; third, that as, besides these productions, others were found, evidently the work of man, the countries in the west must be inhabited.

I think that, in this series of ideas, I have presented the history of the great design formed by Columbus; an history which may be relied upon, as it has been taken from Don Ferdinand's book, and from his father's writings. As to the idle tale which was current in Spain, that he had taken the idea of the new world from a pilot, of whom a number of fables are told, I shall not stop to refute it. At the period when he first proposed the attempt, he was laughed at, and regarded as a fool, or a

man whose intellects were deranged. But when he had executed what he proposed, a thousand voices were immediately raised, exclaiming that he was neither the first who had imagined the discovery, nor the first to land in the countries of the west. In all this we only recognize the malignity of men who, feeling themselves humbled by great geniuses, seek to conceal their own insignificance by depreciating the greatness of others.

Having formed the design of opening a new path through the ocean, his next object was to find a nation which would furnish him with ships and men, and grant him favourable conditions. His first thoughts were turned towards Genoa, his native country; of this we are assured by Peter Martyr, his friend, and the historian of America. He therefore repaired thither, and submitted his plan to the senate; but

he did not find the republic disposed to embrace the ideas of a man, who was only

> Nudo nocchier, promettitor di regni.
> (A poor pilot, the promiser of kingdoms.)
>
> CHIABRERA.

The refusal of the Genoese was a great error, and the bitter reproaches addressed to them for it, yet remain in the Eulogium of Columbus, by Giovio. It is observed, however, by Prevost, in his *Histoire Générale des Voyages,* (vol. xviii. book 1.) that the injury which the Genoese commerce had suffered from the Portugueze discoveries, was of a nature to indispose them from embarking in any new enterprises in the western ocean. His memorable proposal having been rejected by his own countrymen, a circumstance which would appear either fabulous or incredible, if we were not told it by Ramusio and Benzone, historians of the greatest authority, Columbus next determined to apply to the Venetians, if a

tradition is true which is mentioned by Bossi, and commemorated by Stigliani, in the following verses, where he says, that the navigator went about

> Richiedendo favor per tale acquisto
> A varj Re, e Reppubliche di Cristo.
>
> *Mondo Nuovo*, cant. i. st. 73.

(Soliciting the favour of different kings and Christian republics, for such an acquisition.)

Finding himself thus repulsed by his own countrymen, as well as the Venetians, he went to the court of France, and from thence to that of England, and meeting with no favourable encouragement from either, he at last returned to Portugal, and entered into treaty with her monarch. But before we relate what happened to him at the court of Lisbon, it is proper to observe, that we cannot fix, with certainty, the order in which Columbus made application to the different governments. Maffei, an author pensioned by the Portugueze

monarch, his flattery to whom earned him a paltry stipend, asserts, that the plan for the discovery of the new world was submitted by the Genoese to the King of Portugal before all others, *ante omnes.* But this circumstance is neither mentioned by Goes, nor by Barros, Portugueze historians, who wrote long before Maffei, and is also refuted by the unanimous agreement of the older writers, who place the republic of Genoa before any other government, and the court of England before that of Portugal. The nuncio Geraldini, the friend and protector of Columbus, thus places the series of foreign monarchs,—France, England and Portugal. And this agrees perfectly with a letter of Columbus, quoted by Don Ferdinand, in his History, (chap. xii.) "To serve your Highnesses," (he is addressing the monarchs of Spain,) "I was not inclined to involve myself with France, or with England, or with Portu-

gal." The year in which he came to Genoa to propose his celebrated discovery, is also equally uncertain. In Martyr's work, he is said to have been then 40 years old; this would bring us to 1487, and make his application to his own country come last: whereas it is certain that, in 1484, Columbus, disgusted with Portugal, had already determined to enter into treaty with Spain. But there is reason to believe that this is a mistake in Martyr's work, and that, instead of 40, we should read 30. Many such errors are to be found in manuscripts of the fifteenth century, and also in the dates of books of that period; because in the use of Roman ciphers, and from the ignorance or haste of amanuenses and compositors, it happened that sometimes an X was omitted and sometimes added, making a material alteration in the reckoning. Of this we have an instance in the famous letter of Columbus, reprinted by Morelli

and Bossi, in which there is an error of 28 for 38. Morelli was certain that the first number was wrong, and Bossi thought that 38 should be substituted, in conformity with his arrangement of the chronology of Columbus; but even Bossi is deceived in the idea, that the new reading xxxviii, would throw back the date of his birth to 1445. But I cannot now enter into a discussion or calculation of chronological minutiæ. I should therefore suppose, that Columbus, having already, in his voyage to Greenland, passed the line which geographers had laid down as the boundary of our hemisphere, was finally led to regard it as certain, that the navigation of the other hemisphere would either lead him to the shores of Asia, or to the discovery of new lands, which were included in the womb of the ocean; and that finding experience agree with his reasoning, and with the opinions of his brother Bartholomew and

Paolo Toscanelli, he either returned to Lisbon in the spring of 1477, or came directly to Genoa, to submit to his country his admirable idea. Persons must be entirely ignorant of navigation, who would regard it as impossible, that his proposal could not be made to his country in 1477, because he was in that year in Iceland. He was there in the month of February, but he had ten months left him to come to Genoa.

But the Genoese were not wise enough to take advantage of the ardour and patriotic affection of Columbus; and he was obliged to submit his proposals to foreign governments. We cannot speak of Venice, because the information that has descended to us on that point, is too scanty and uncertain. In France, it does not appear that his idea was either praised or ridiculed; but in England, according to the testimony of Benzone, it was completely

laughed at. Having, therefore, returned to Portugal, he tried to make that court enter into his ideas, as it had already so distinguished itself in the career of navigation and discovery. No authority can be better than that of Barros, respecting the negociations of Columbus with the Portugueze. The following are the words of that historian, (ASIA, Book iii. chap. xi.) " Christopher Columbus, according to the universal opinion, was a Genoese by birth, a man of great skill and eloquence, &c. According to the custom of his country, ... he made different voyages in the Mediterranean, until he came into these parts of Spain, and devoted himself to the navigation of the Great Ocean. And seeing that King John (II.) generally sent his vessels of discovery to the coast of Africa, he was led to imagine, that by navigating in the same ocean, until, &c. . . . He requested the King to give him some vessels, . . . confi-

dent . . . in the experience he had in these matters . . . . . It is unquestionably the thing most certain in his undertaking, that some fictions which . . . . . according to the Spanish authors, ... The King paid little attention to it. Fatigued, however, by his importunities, he ordered him to enter into discussion on the subject, with Diego Ortiz, Bishop of Cepta, and Master Rodrigo, and Master Joseph . . . all of whom looked upon Columbus's reasoning as mere folly. And thus undeceived, and dismissed by the King, he went to Castile." Barros conceals a circumstance that does little honour to the courtiers of King John, of which we have an account in the History of Ferdinand. The monarch, "even while he professed to be attentively considering the proposals of Columbus, by the advice of a certain Doctor Calsadiglia . . . . equipped a caravel with great despatch and secresy; and, under the pretence of sending

her with provisions and assistance to some of his people who were in the Cape de Verd islands, ordered her to sail in the direction which the admiral had proposed to go. But as the persons he sent had neither the knowledge, the perseverance, nor the head of the admiral to direct them, after having gone for several days wandering about the sea . . . . they returned, ridiculing the undertaking, and declaring its impossibility." In this manner did the wicked imprudence of Calsadiglia deprive the Portuguеze of the honour and advantage of the discovery.

As soon as Columbus was informed of this attempt, he became so indignant against the Portugueze, that taking with him his young son Diego, *at the end of the year* 1484, he quitted Portugal secretly, and went to Spain. If Bossi had paid attention to the narrative of Ferdinand, he would have seen that Columbus could

not have begun his negociations at the court of Spain before 1485, and that, consequently, his twenty years of service at that court, mentioned in his letter of the 7th of July, 1503, could not be understood to be completed; consequently he was not warranted in placing the birth of our navigator in 1445.

Donna Philippa, Columbus's wife, had already departed this life, at Lisbon; nor did he derive any advantage from having his only son Diego with him; for at Palos, he entrusted him to the monks of the convent of Rabida, and he himself went to Cordova, where Ferdinand and Isabella, the monarchs of Spain, kept their court. He was not long in gaining the acquaintance and esteem of Antonio Geraldini d'Ameria, the papal nuncio at that court, and of Luis Santangel, auditor of accounts at Valencia. Under the protection of these two persons, he began to propound

his negociation with the Catholic monarchs. But ignorance and diffidence were obstacles in the way of a speedy conclusion. Cosmography and mathematics, then little studied even in Italy, were sciences utterly unknown in Spain; where, also, they wanted the practical experience of navigation acquired in long voyages, which were then cultivated and promoted in Portugal with the greatest ardour. And what may seem still more strange, is, that a belief in the existence of the antipodes was declared to be heretical, grounded on the idea of the Psalmist and St. Augustin being considered to hold a different opinion. Columbus, dreading the repetition of a trick like that of Calsadiglia, was unwilling to explain his ideas to every one; in like manner as Brunellesco durst not shew the workmen employed on the dome at Florence, an accurate plan of the great cupola, from an apprehension of the rivalry of the other

architects, his declared adversaries. So true is it that men of great genius and great passions closely resemble each other in all countries.

The death of the nuncio Geraldini, the opposition of the Spanish ministry, and the war with the Moors, with which the Spanish monarchs were then occupied, made the hopes of Columbus fall to the ground. However, having received letters from the Kings of Portugal, of France, and of England, inviting him again to explain his ideas, but being unwilling to return to ungrateful Lisbon, he determined on passing into France, and sending his brother Bartholomew to London. The latter actually set off for England; but having been taken on his passage by pirates, and stripped of every thing he possessed, was compelled to live a long time in poverty and obscurity, earning a scanty existence by the making of sailing charts; until being at

last somewhat restored, he presented to Henry VII. a map of the world with the date of *London, February* 13, 1488, and some Latin verses explanatory of the author's idea, and his name and country expressed in the two following:

> **Janua cui patria est; nomen cui Bartolomæus**
> Columbus de Terrarubra opus edidit istud.

Terrarossa is a village, or hamlet, near Quinto, to the east of Genoa; and Ferdinand (chap. xi.) informs us that his father also, before he was created Admiral, subscribed his name, *Columbus de Terra rubra.* The documents of the archives of Savona never speak of Giovanni Colombo, the grandfather of our hero, without giving him the adjunct of *de Quinto;* a most convincing argument that the discoverer of America could not be the nephew of Lanza Colombo, Lord of the castles of Cuccaro and Conzano. Bartholomew was not long

before he made some progress in ingratiating himself with the English monarch, and was actually commissioned to invite his brother to London. But the opportunity had slipped from the tardy Briton, and the New World had already welcomed the Spanish vessels with their Ligurian leader.

For some reason or other, Columbus could not make up his mind to leave Spain; either from the hope that he should at last succeed with Queen Isabella, or from the passion he entertained for Beatrice Enriquez, with whom he had become acquainted at Cordova, and who made him the father of Ferdinand, the same who wrote the life of his father. Beatrice survived Columbus, who, in his last will, recommended her to his eldest son Diego in terms which are sufficiently expressive of her poverty, and his sorrow for the manner in which he had treated her. In yielding to his passions, our navigator shewed that he was but a

man; in avowing his fault, he exhibited the sincerity of his religious faith. In the mean time, however, his circumstances were gradually getting worse, and there seemed to be at last no hope of coming to a conclusion with the court of Spain. Under that impression he repaired to the convent of Rabida to take his son Diego with him, and proceed to France. But the prior of the convent, Father Juan Perez de Marcena, a most worthy ecclesiastic, and known to Queen Isabella, whose confessor he had formerly been, could not bear the idea that this "high emprise" should be taken from Spain: he prevailed upon Columbus to remain; went to Granada, where he had an interview with the Queen, in which he laid before her the great advantages which would accrue to the state as well as to the church, if the new hemisphere should be discovered. Isabella, who was a princess of masculine understanding, felt the force

of Marcena's appeal, and after desiring him to bring Columbus back to court, held a Council of State upon the singular proposal of this foreign seaman. In favour of accepting the proposal there were the Prior (Marcena), Santangel, and Alexander Geraldini, the brother of the nuncio. The first had great influence over the heart of Isabella; and the third over her understanding, as he was a man of great learning and the preceptor of the Infante. The second, being a financier, assisted in smoothing the pecuniary difficulties, which were always very great in Spain, and at that time at their height in consequence of the war with the Moors. Geraldini therefore, having satisfied Cardinal Mendoza that this enterprize was not contrary to the opinion of either the Psalmist or St. Augustin, who were neither cosmographers nor navigators, Columbus was called in, and asked, what would be the expence and the extent of

the preparation; to which having answered that about 3,000 crowns and two vessels would be sufficient, Santangel offered to take upon himself the whole expence of the armament; but the Queen, whom the recent conquest of Granada rendered more disposed for new subjects of glory, was unwilling that any one but herself should have the credit of such an undertaking. The narrative of this sitting of the Council of Castile we have from Geraldini himself, who begins it in these words: "Christopher Columbus, by nation an Italian, was of Genoa, a city of Liguria," &c.

The resolution to undertake the expedition being thus finally taken, to obtain which had cost Columbus nearly seven years of solicitation, recommendations, and intrigues at the court, the act of capitulation, or charter of privileges granted by the Spanish monarch to the navigator, was drawn up. In virtue of this capitula-

tion (Document II.) he was nominated Admiral, Viceroy, Governor, and Judge of the islands and main-land which he had discovered in the ocean; he was also to have the tenth of all the productions of these countries; with liberty to furnish the eighth part of the expences, sharing the same proportion of the profits, of all the vessels and squadrons which should be fitted out and despatched to the countries discovered by him. He was also constituted Admiral of the Ocean, with all the great prerogatives enjoyed by the Admiral of Castile (Document I.) And all the rights, honours, and privileges with which the monarchs invested Columbus by these instruments, were declared to be hereditary in his sons, nephews, and descendants (Document II.) This convention, the unhappy source of great misfortunes to our hero, was subscribed by the two monarchs in the town of Santa Fe, in the plain of Granada, on the 17th of

April, 1492. It need not appear surprising that the King of Spain should be so liberal in his grants to Columbus, if we reflect that nearly the same privileges were granted by the court of Lisbon to the discoverers of the islands; and that the dignity of Admiral was necessary to a captain who had to conduct a squadron into immense and unknown seas; and thus Columbus himself (Document XLIII.) calls it the *arm of the body* of his wonderful expedition, and of his government. It is also to be remarked that the undertaking did not burden the royal treasury in the least; for the two caravels that were given to Columbus were two vessels which the community of Palos were bound to maintain three months every year in the royal service, and the third was equipped at Columbus's own expence. In this manner the discovery of the New World cost Spain much less than the purchase of a merchant vessel in the present day.

On Friday, the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus quitted the port of Palos. He himself commanded the Admiral's ship, called the *Santa Maria;* the *Pinta* was commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and the *Nina,* a vessel with a mizen-sail, by Vincent Yanes Pinzon, the brother of Martin; both of them were natives of Palos. If we are to believe Don Ferdinand, the crews of the whole three vessels did not amount to more than 90 persons; but Martyr and Giustiniani say 120; it is probable that the smaller number included only the persons aboard the royal caravels; the third being Columbus's private property. The very day of their departure, the helm of the *Pinta* was damaged; a misfortune which again happened on the 7th, and which, to superstitious mariners, appeared to forebode an unlucky termination to the expedition. Having repaired the helm as well as they could, they reached

the Canary Islands, where Columbus went to Gomera in search of a better vessel; but being unable to procure one, he put a new rudder to the *Pinta*, and reduced the Nina to a square sail. In running along that part of the ocean, as they passed one night close to Teneriffe, they saw volumes of flame proceeding from the mouth of the Peak, at which the crews appearing beyond measure astonished, Columbus took the pains to explain to them the causes of that phenomenon, and mentioned Vesuvius and Etna as similar instances. Finally, having repaired the vessels, and laid in a full supply of provisions, and wood and water, Columbus, on the 6th of September, left Gomera to plough the western ocean. A memorable day! in which was seen a Genoese pilot, undismayed by the unhappy fate of Doria and Vivaldi, turning his back upon the old world to find a new one in the

ocean. The minute journal of this voyage has not been printed, in consequence of the historian Don Ferdinand not thinking it worth while to publish it entire. And those who value even the slightest memorials of great men must be now contented to have an account of the principal circumstances of this first western voyage. On the 9th of September they lost sight of the island of Ferro, many shedding tears, and fearfully measuring the terrible expanse of ocean. They had sailed nearly 200 leagues to the westward, when, on the 13th, Columbus perceived that the needle of the compass, when night set in, declined a half-quarter from the polar star, and at day-break a little more than another half-quarter, (*Ferdinand*, chap. xvii.) This most important discovery, due to Columbus, and his having been the first (according to Oviedo) who made use of the astrolabe in navigation, are inventions not less valuable

and more advantageous than the discovery of the new world.

Continuing their course they saw birds and craw-fish; found the water not so salt, and covered with green weeds; these appearances supported the courage of the crews, who expected shortly to see land. They had already sailed during eleven days with the wind upon their stern, without lowering the sails a single span. The rude seamen began to be alarmed that in these seas no other winds blew but westerly; and that it would therefore be impossible for them ever to return home. But by great good luck for our hero the wind freshened, and on the 22d became contrary. No sooner had their fears respecting the winds, however, been calmed, than a deep melancholy began to pervade them, on account of the number of indications of land which they had seen, such as birds and fish, without apparently

getting nearer the long looked for shores. According to Martyr and Benzone, the Spaniards murmured at being sent out under the command of a Genoese, who had been unsuccessful at court, and whose plans had been scouted by the most learned and respectable persons in Spain; afterwards they seditiously uttered threats to turn the prow towards Europe; and their audacity increasing with their desperation, some of them proposed to slay the Admiral, and, after throwing his body into the sea, to return home. By his arguments, intreaties, and promises that they would soon see the land, Columbus succeeded in warding off the impending danger. At last arrived the 11th of October, when the appearance of green rushes, fruits recently pulled, sticks carved by hand, and shell fish, announced the near approach of land. Orders were consequently given for all to be upon the watch, while the vessels kept on their

course; and a reward was announced of a pension of thirty crowns annually to be paid by the King to whoever should first see land. Two hours before midnight, as the Admiral was standing in the castle of the poop, he saw a light passing from one place to another; he called two witnesses, who decided that it must be a fisherman or traveller's torch, and that it entitled him to the reward of the thirty crowns. At day-break, on the 12th of October, the hero landed,

E di grand' orma il nuovo mondo imprima.

CHIABRERA.

(And with his great footstep impressed the new world.)

His companions also, on landing, went upon their knees to thank the Creator, kissed that soil which they were afterwards to contaminate with every enormity; planted the cross, hoisted the royal standard of Spain; and in the presence of the

naked and astonished Indians, who fancied that the men they saw had come down from heaven, the leader of this great expedition took possession of these new countries, and was immediately acknowledged as Admiral of the Ocean, Viceroy and Governor of the islands and main land discovered and to be discovered, in the name of the monarchs of Spain. This first island, called by the natives *Guanahani,* received from Columbus the name of S. Salvador. Thirty-three days only were sufficient to arrive at the Western Islands from the Canaries.

It is very extraordinary that, before he left the Canaries, he declared to his companions that no land would be discovered before they had sailed at least 700 leagues; which happened exactly as he had told them; nor is it less to be wondered at, that without deviating from his first course, he should have arrived at the unknown hemi-

sphere. Of this first voyage we have a full detail in a letter of Columbus, which was translated into Latin, and printed in 1493, and reprinted several times in the following years. Bossi has given it as an appendix to his Life of Columbus. We shall therefore confine ourselves here to stating the principal circumstances of it.

The Admiral left Guanahani on the 14th of October, taking with him seven of the islanders to act as interpreters. Next day he touched at another island, which he named *Santa Maria del Concepcion.* On the 16th he discovered one which he called *Fernandina,* in honour of the King; and three days after he visited another, which he named *Isabella,* after the Queen. He arrived at Cuba on the 28th, and changed the name of it to *Juanna,* after Don Juan, the hereditary Prince of Spain. He attempted also to coast entirely round it, but after sailing a great distance, and the diffi-

culties increasing, he turned back, remaining in doubt whether it was an island or a continent.

From thence he sailed to *Haïti*, into a port of which he entered on the 6th of December, and named it *S. Nicholas*; to another, where he was driven in for two days, he gave the name of *Concepcion*; and, finally, he gave the general name of *Hispaniola* to the whole of that great island. At the end of ten days, a cacique of the island came on board the Admiral's ship, with one of his sons and a brother, and accompanied by more than 100 persons; he sat down to table with the Admiral, to whom he presented a girdle and two small plates of gold, receiving in exchange a crown of amber and other presents. But on Christmas eve, while Columbus was asleep, and all his crew, the steersman having, contrary to the express prohibition of the Admiral, left the helm in the charge of a lad, a current carried

the Admiral's ship against a sandbank. It was nearly midnight; the vessel was going to pieces, opening its sides to the waves. The terrified sailors got into the boat; but with the assistance of the crew of the other vessel all the men were saved, as well as the property on board. In this calamity, the cacique already mentioned was of great and signal service, for as soon as he was informed of it, he hastened with a number of his people, collected into three houses all the goods saved from the wreck, and put a guard over them, with the strictest injunctions that no one should dare to touch the most trifling article; and professing his readiness to oblige and assist the Admiral in every way. But the latter turned this misfortune to good account. For availing himself of the loyal disposition of this Cacique, and a considerable number of the Spaniards feeling disposed to take up their abode in so delightful an island, abounding

with gold, he constructed with the planks of the vessel a small fortress, and put into it thirty-six persons, three captains, who were to have the command, a doctor, a gunner, and several carpenters, with arms and provisions for a year. To this establishment he gave the name of *Navidad*, or more properly, *villa de Navidad.*

Having arranged matters in this way, he left Hispaniola on the 4th of January, 1493, and two days afterwards he fell in with the *Pinta*, which had separated from him for a long time through the wickedness of the captain, who had gone in search of gold. The Admiral affected to receive the excuses of Pinzon, not wishing to irritate the crew by punishing a man who had a good many relations and a great number of friends. On the 13th, seven Spaniards having landed at Samana, in the island of Haiti, had a skirmish with fifty-five Indians, strong made, haughty, and exceedingly ac-

tive, entirely naked, with long and loose hair, armed with bows and large cudgels. Finally, on the 16th of January, he began to steer his course for Spain; and he was already near the Azores, when the sea became so turbulent in consequence of the violence of the winds, that on the night of the 14th of February, the two caravels parted company, each following the course where the fury of the tempest drove them. The mariners, giving themselves up for lost, offered up prayers and vows; the Admiral, mindful of himself and his sons, and that his discovery might not turn to nought, wrote upon parchment the relation of the voyage, with directions for the course to steer to go to Hispaniola; after he had finished and sealed it, and addressed it to the King of Spain, with a promise written outside of 1,000 ducats to whoever would deliver it faithfully, he wrapped it up in waxed cloth, and then put it in a cake of

wax; and after inclosing it in a barrel well hooped and stopt up, he threw it into the sea. He likewise fastened a similar barrel (with the same relation inclosed) to the head of the poop of his own vessel; in order that if the ship went to the bottom, the memory of the navigation he had opened to the new hemisphere might not be lost. Columbus past three days without sleeping, with scanty and bad food, exposed to the wind and weather, so that on the 18th, when he arrived at St. Mary's, one of the Azores, he felt his limbs quite crippled. There was a small church there in a solitary place, dedicated to the Virgin. Columbus, desirous of discharging the vows made during the storm, ordered half his people on shore to visit this church, but the Portuguese governor of the island made them all prisoners, and took their boat from them; and the barbarian was actually preparing to attack Columbus's own vessel, by orders, as

he said, received from his court. But when he saw the constancy of the hero, and heard that he was returning from unknown seas, when he learned that Columbus was an Admiral and Viceroy, and that he threatened, in case of being insulted, to turn the island into a desert; when he found there was no means of getting him into his hands, he liberated the prisoners, and allowed the caravel to proceed on her course. The state of the weather was still most terrible: the sea ran mountains high; the lightnings rent the clouds; and the violence of the wind was such that the vessel was obliged to scud under bare poles; in which state she arrived at last in the Tagus, near Lisbon, on the 4th of March. The following day, being admitted to pratick, a prodigious number of persons flocked to behold the vessel which had returned from the new world; the expression of their countenances was various; some returned thanks to God

for the fortunate event, while others were gnashing their teeth with rage, that so great a prize should have fallen to the detested Spaniards. Columbus hastened to expedite a courier to his Sovereigns, and another to the King of Portugal; by the latter he was invited to come to the Vale of Paradise, where he was received by the Monarch and his courtiers with the highest honours. There were not wanting, however, cavaliers (says Barros) *who offered to slay him*, to prevent his ever going to Castile as the bearer of such great and glorious news: *an offer which the King refused to listen to.* Having left the court and paid a visit to the Queen, who was then at a monastery on the road to Lisbon, on the 15th of March, he returned to the port of Palos, which he had left just seven months and eleven days before. His reception at Palos and his subsequent voyage to Barcelona, where the Spanish court then was, was a

continued triumph. Pinzon, who in the last storm had been driven into Galicia, wished to anticipate the Admiral; but an express order from the court, forbidding him to come without Columbus, made him actually die of spite. The monarchs received the Admiral in a public audience, seated on the throne; at his approach they stood up, took him by the hand, and ordered him to be seated, while he gave them a narrative of his voyage.

When the congratulations and public demonstrations of joy were at an end, the sovereigns of Spain confirmed to Columbus the preceding capitulation, with the additional privilege that he and his sons and descendants should take the title of *Don;* and declaring that the admiralty, viceroyalty, and civil and criminal jurisdiction, *cum mero et mixto imperio,* granted to Columbus in the ocean, and in the islands and main-land discovered and to be disco-

vered, commenced by a line drawn by the Azores and Cape de Verd islands, from north to south, and from pole to pole; so that all the seas, islands and main-land which lay within that line, wholly appertained to his jurisdiction. (Document III.) But at the same time, it was necessary to take care that no cause of war should arise between Spain and Portugal. Pope Martin V. and other pontiffs, especially Sixtus IV. had, by various bulls, granted to the crown of Portugal all the countries which it should discover from Cape Bogiador, and from Cape Non to the Indies. The court of Lisbon pretended that Spain had violated the papal privilege; and King John II. who had mentioned it to Columbus, when the latter paid his court to him at the Vale of Paradise, passing from words to deeds, ordered a squadron to be fitted out, and proceed under the command of Francisco de Almeida, to the newly dis-

covered islands (*Barros*, b. iii. c. xi.) But Ferdinand, who was an extremely wily prince, intreated King John not to go to war on that account, professing his readiness to settle matters amicably. During the period that an arrangement was in treaty between the two crowns, in which the Spaniards were constantly interposing difficulties and delays, there arrived three bulls from Pope Alexander VI. which put an end to the pretensions of the court of Lisbon. In the two first, dated May 3d, 1493, the Pope made an absolute donation to Spain, of all the islands and main-land discovered and to be discovered in the western ocean, with the same extensions, prerogatives and privileges, which his predecessors had granted to the Portugueze, of what they should discover in Africa and in Ethiopia. The third bull, which is the most famous, is dated the 4th of May; because in that, Alexander drawing, or

rather *marking*, a line from the arctic to the antarctic pole, which line was to be 100 leagues distant from the Azores and Cape de Verd islands, gave and assigned all the countries situated within that line, to the monarchs of Spain, on condition that they sent out priests to instruct the natives of those countries in the Catholic faith. This is the famous line of *demarcation*, which at once gave to Spain an empire far more extensive than that which seven centuries of warfare obtained for the Romans. The bull will be found in this collection, (Document XXXVII.) with some not unimportant variations.

The Admiral, meanwhile, proceeding to Seville, pressed forward another expedition. The Spaniards vied with each other in eagerness to be admitted into it, attracted, no doubt, by the desire of amassing treasures. But it was necessary to restrict the number to as many as could be carried in a squadron, consisting of twelve caravels

and five smaller vessels. Juan Fonseca, Canon and Dean of Seville, had the charge of its equipment. Fifteen hundred men of all descriptions embarked on board these vessels, and they carried out horses, sheep and cattle, in order to establish the race of them in the new world.

Having made these preparations, the Admiral, with his brother Giacomo, (whom we must now call *Diego*, as that was the name given to him in Spain,) and his two sons, weighed anchor from the canal of Cadiz, on the 25th of September, 1493; arrived on the 2d of October, at the Great Canaries; on the 5th, touched at Gomera; and having with great expedition taken in the necessary supplies of fresh provisions, sailed, on the 7th of the month, for the new world, steering more to the south-west than he had done in his first voyage. And as by deviating from his first course, it might happen, that if the vessels were

separated by a storm, the pilots would not know how to find Hispaniola, he delivered, at the moment of departure, a packet of sealed instructions to each of the captains, which they were not to open unless in case of extreme necessity. This second voyage was extremely fortunate; on the morning of Sunday, the 3d of November, they were already in sight of a mountainous island, which he named *Dominica*, in commemoration of the day of its discovery. They did not, however, land there, on account of not finding a good anchorage; but they landed on another island, which was called *Mari-galante*, after the Admiral's ship. On the 4th, after a very short stay, they arrived at *S. Maria de Guadaloupe*, a name given to the island by the Admiral, in fulfilment of his promise to the monks of the sanctuary of our Lady of Guadaloupe, in Spain, who had earnestly entreated him to grant them that favour. This island was the

seat of the Caribs, or Cannibals, a race of ferocious savages, whose practice it was to make incursions on all the islands of that immense *archipelago*, (so Columbus styled it,) and to rob and pillage the poor Indians, whom they transported in numbers to Guadaloupe, making slaves of the women, and devouring the men. They found the ground strewed with unburied bones, and sprinkled with blood. Peter Martyr says, that he saw at Medina, several cannibals, who had been brought from the new world, whose fierce countenances, ferocious actions and cruel look, made all who saw them tremble with terror and disgust. The island of Guadaloupe is well wooded, abounds with parrots, and cotton grows there very plentifully. The squadron remained there several days, during which several Indians of both sexes, fleeing from the cannibals, found an asylum on board the Spanish vessels. At that time, Mark,

a captain of one of the vessels, landed with eight men, without permission, and wandering over the island, got entangled in the woods, and knew not how to get to the coast. The Admiral, being afraid lest he and his companions should have been taken by the Caribs and put to death, sent a number of persons in search of them, who were unable to get sight of them, or to hear them answer to their discharge of fire-arms. At last, however, they returned, on the 8th of November; and to set an example of severity, Columbus put the captain in irons, and punished the men, by diminishing their portion of victuals. He weighed anchor from Guadaloupe on the 10th of November. To an island formed of a rugged mountain, which had been depopulated by the Caribs, who had devoured the inhabitants, he gave the name of *Monserrat;* another, from its shape, was called *S. Maria Rotonda;* the festival of St. Mar-

tin gave a name to another, where coral was found; *Jamaica*, so called by the Indians, and which still retains that name, was called *S. Maria de Antigua*, and the island of Ayay, *Santa Cruz*. In this island there were also cannibals, from whose power they liberated some Indians, but they had not the pleasure of making prisoner a female, who approached them in a canoe, accompanied by her son, a stout young man, and several male and female attendants, who appeared to obey her, and when they spoke to her, stood up in a respectful attitude; by this it was imagined, that she was the queen of the island, and also by the circumstance that several of her attendants were recognized to be eunuchs. When they approached the Spaniards, they discharged a shower of poisoned arrows, with such force, that one thrown by a female, pierced a soldier's buckler through and through. The canoe

being hemmed in by one of the Spanish boats, overset, the son was drowned, and several were taken prisoners, but the queen, along with several men and women, reached the shore by swimming. The squadron then entered a group of fifty islands, the largest of which was named *Santa Ursula*, and the others were comprised under the title of *Oncemil Virgenes*. The island of Borriquen appeared to the Spaniards a most agreeable residence; populous and agreeable with good houses, plenty of fish, fertile, and cultivated with a degree of care they had never yet seen in that part of the world. Columbus gave it the name of *San Juan Baptista*, the protector of the Genoese nation. On the 21st, he took in water at the northern side of Hispaniola, and after coasting that great island, in six days arrived at the *Villa de Navidad*, where he had left the Spanish colony.

What a sight there met his eyes! the

fortress destroyed, the utensils and clothes of the colonists scattered here and there upon the ground; not a Spaniard to be seen; but in one place, a corpse lying putrid, and another hanging by a rope, with the arms tied to a tree, in the shape of the cross. From the report of the islanders he collected, that the Spaniards who were left at Natividad gave the reins, after Columbus's departure, to their avarice and lust. They dispersed themselves throughout the island in search of gold; ravished the women; were not satisfied with what the friendly Cacique supplied them; and, in short, recognized no laws but their own passions. Having afterwards quarrelled about the division of the treasure, and the possession of the women, they came to blows, and in the contest one of them was killed. This man's death dispelled the ignorance of the Indians, who had hitherto believed that the strangers

were so many celestial beings; all of them flew to arms; the Spaniards, who were dispersed through the island, were overpowered by numbers; and *Caunaboa*, the cacique of the mines, a brave chief, advanced with his troop to the fortress, where only ten persons were left with Diego d'Arana; he set fire to the Spanish habitations, eight of them flew to the sea and were drowned, and the others fell under the poniards of the Indians. It was a matter of doubt whether the cacique, who had been Columbus's friend, took any part in this revolution. He protested that he had taken the part of the Spaniards; talked of a wound which he had received in the battle, which confined him to his bed; but the Admiral, having sent a surgeon to him, named Melchior, of Seville, to examine the wound, the latter satisfied him that the story was entirely a fiction, as, after unbinding the cacique's leg, he found

neither wound nor cicatrice. Columbus saw that it was of importance to excite no new fears and apprehensions, and probably thought within himself, that the colonists had deservedly met their fate; he therefore renewed an alliance with the wounded cacique, and having entered into a sort of truce with the people of the mines, he began to make arrangements for the establishment of a new colony in the island.

Having, therefore, left Natividad, on the 7th of December, 1493, he went to the east side of the island, where he disembarked at an Indian town, close to the shore. Nature had there formed a very capacious and safe harbour, even though open to the north-east. About the distance of a bow-shot from the sea, ran a river which watered a delightful plain; above the harbour was a rock, which presented a desirable situation for a fortress; and the gold mines were at no great distance.

Having disembarked the people, the arms and the machines, he commenced the undertaking on the 11th of December, and the town was already finished in the beginning of March, 1494. Columbus gave it the name of *Isabella*, in honour of the Queen of Castile. In the mean time he despatched Fojeda in search of the mines; who, on his return, related that he had crossed different rivers, and found pieces of gold in their sands, in which the Indians excavated holes with their hands, and at the depth of a fathom, found the metal. The Admiral then sent back to Spain twelve caravels, with a number of specimens of the productions of the island, and with letters and presents to his friend Peter Martyr, who states that he saw a piece of gold which had been found by Fojeda, weighing eleven ounces. The command of this squadron he entrusted to Antonio Torres, the brother of the nurse of the

Prince Royal, a person of great activity, intelligence and fidelity. The departure of these vessels, the labours for the establishment of the colony, the Admiral's orders to proceed upon a survey of the country, but without seeking for gold, the incommodities of the climate, the deficiency of European provisions, which was already sensibly felt, and which the potatoes and maize of Hispaniola did not make up, all these contributed to excite a seditious feeling in the breasts of the colonists; they threatened to seize the other vessels that were left and to return home; and this factious spirit was kept up by Bernal de Pisa, who had accompanied the expedition in the capacity of royal accountant; this man had already drawn up a memorial filled with accusations against Columbus, with a view to lay it before the court. This piece having fallen into the Admiral's hands, he immediately imprisoned Bernal

on board one of the vessels, and he determined to keep the factious occupied in the survey of the island, although he himself was still suffering under an illness brought on by his labours, in the arrangement of the colony. Leaving, therefore, his brother Diego in command of the vessels, ammunition, and crews, he proceeded with the soldiers, both infantry and cavalry, to the mountains of the mines called *Cibao*, where he built a fortress, named St. Thomas, and left 56 men in it, commanded by Pedro Margarita. No sooner, however, had he departed, than Caunaboa, the proprietor of Cibao, made an attack upon the fortress, of which Columbus being immediately informed, despatched a reinforcement of men and provisions, and made Fojeda the commander of the fortress. The horses were of wonderful advantage to the Spaniards, because the Indians, who had already lost their apprehensions of the

swords or fire-arms, trembled at the sight of these noble animals. Upwards of four hundred of the islanders, led by five Spaniards, ran away at the sight of a soldier on horseback, who was on his road from St. Thomas to Isabella.

Columbus's thoughts were, in the mean time, turned towards Cuba, which in his first voyage he had been unable to survey completely, so as to ascertain whether it was an island, or part of a continent. Wishing to satisfy himself on that head, he established a council of regency, which was to govern the island during his absence; of this council his brother Diego was named president, and Father Buyl chief councillor, of whom we shall have occasion to speak shortly in terms of reprobation. On the 24th April he took his departure, and steered immediately in the direction of Cuba; on the 2d of May he visited Jamaica, which appeared to him the most

beautiful of all the western islands; and on the 14th, returning to Cuba, he proceeded to coast along it with great difficulty, on account of an incredible number of islets in those seas, which render the navigation exceedingly difficult and dangerous; in one day he counted as many as 160; and Peter Martyr assures us that Columbus actually gave names to 700 of these islets or rocks, whichever they may be called. In this voyage he saw, for the first time, Indians clothed, wearing a kind of tunic made of cotton, and descending as low as the knees. From one of these he ascertained that the country was entirely surrounded by the sea, and governed by a Cacique, who was so proud, that he never deigned to speak to any of his subjects, but made himself understood by signs, and was obeyed. Columbus with his three vessels did not return to Isabella before the 29th of September, after suffering incredible hardships

in common with the whole of the crews. His own however were very great; he had scarcely ever been able to undress himself; he was reduced to a scanty portion of damaged biscuit, like the meanest seaman; many nights he had scarcely slept three hours; so that he arrived at Isabella almost blind, and oppressed with a fever, and a terrible *mazzucco*; from which, however, the tranquillity and fresh provisions of the colony soon recovered him.

His recovery was greatly aided by the pleasure of finding his wise brother Bartholomew at Hispaniola. The latter, having left London with the convention granted to Christopher by the English monarch, had only got as far as Paris when he learned from the King of France that the Western Islands were already discovered; and, having received from that monarch a present of 100 crowns, hastened his journey as much as possible, but on his arrival in

Spain he found that his brother had already sailed on a second expedition; Bartholomew, however, was despatched by the King with three vessels to Hispaniola, and the Admiral, on his return, made him *Adelantado*, or prefect of the Indies. Of Columbus's other brother, Diego, we have very little information, and it would appear as if the Admiral was rather ashamed of having such a brother; and on that account made him believe, when a youth that he had been brought up in his family from his earliest years, as is related in Peter Martyr's History, Dec. 1. Book iv. The same historian relates, that Guarionex, one of the Caciques of Hispaniola, desirous of ingratiating himself with Columbus, married one of his sisters to Diego. It is to be supposed that the princess was converted to Christianity, in order that the marriage might take place; but the Cacique, her father, would never consent to

renounce his idolatrous faith, in spite of the attempts which were made to convert him, by the Admiral's orders, by Father Romano of the order of St. Jerome, an excellent and indefatigable ecclesiastic, who was always the friend and respecter of Columbus, by whose orders he composed a small tract intitled "*On the Faith and Idolatry of the Indians,*" inserted by Don Ferdinand in the life of his father.

The conduct of another ecclesiastic, who had it greatly in his power to contribute to the happiness of the island, was very different from that of Father Romano. I allude to Father Bernard Buyl, a Catalonian, of the order of Minorites, who by a brief of Pope Alexander VI. dated the 25th of June, 1493, was placed at the head of the ecclesiastics sent out to the newly discovered countries; and had also the authority of Vicar Apostolic for founding new convents of Mendicants; even

though it was expressly forbidden by a Constitution of Pope Boniface VIII., from which Alexander VI. expressly derogated, for the better establishing the Catholic faith in the new world. Buyl wanted to govern the whole island according to his own fancy; he listened favourably to the complaints of the seditious, sanctioned turbulent meetings, pretended that the Admiral ought to shut his eyes to the horrible excesses of the Spaniards; and, finding that he was not to be moved from his firm purpose, he had the temerity to excommunicate him; as if the punishment of the men's indecencies was an offence before God. Roused at this insult, the Admiral refused to furnish him any longer with the usual supplies; in consequence of which Father Buyl was forced to take his departure the first opportunity, carrying with him heavy complaints against the justice of the Admiral, who probably appealed to

the Pope, as the censure unjustly fulminated against him by the Vicar Apostolic was declared null and void; it was, probably, on that occasion, that he received as a present from Alexander VI. the Breviary which is now preserved at Rome, in the Corsini Library.

The outrages of the Spaniards at last drove the Indians to desperation. Fancying that, if the harvest failed, their new guests would be compelled to depart, they left off sowing; the consequence of which was a most dreadful dearth, which fell heaviest upon the weakest; and so far from removing, only increased the disorders. The natives set themselves in ambush, to cut off the Spaniards secretly; the inhabitants of Cibao, more courageous than the others, and more accustomed to labour, (as their country abounded with mines,) being hemmed in by the two fortresses, St. Thomas and Conception, flew to arms

with fury, but, being obliged to combat in the open plain, they were defeated; their king, Caunaboa, was taken prisoner, and sent to Spain.

A general terror then spread throughout the island, and no one afterwards was daring enough to rise against the Spaniards. Columbus then determined to return to Castile, leaving the government to his brother, the Prefect. He sailed on the 10th of March, 1497. He took with him, in two caravels, 225 Europeans and 30 Indians; many specimens of gold, and the most remarkable productions of the western countries. He remained several days in the island of Guadaloupe, for the purpose of making the necessary bread for the voyage; and his scouts having captured a most courageous female, whom they discovered to be a cacique, he took her with him to Spain, in order to present her to his sovereigns. They left Guadaloupe on

the 20th of the same month; they had tedious calms during the voyage, and were reduced to short provisions. Columbus made observations on the loadstones or compasses of Flanders and Genoa, and found that the *north-west* was much less in the former than the latter. They landed in pain on the 14th of June; and as the court was then at Burgos, to celebrate the nuptials of the Prince Royal Don John, with the Archduchess Margaret of Austria, the Admiral went there with the Indians and curiosities to present them to the monarchs, to whom he gave a relation of all the events of the second voyage, and requested to be despatched without delay, in order to prevent the disorders in the colony from becoming greater.

The tardiness of the Spanish court, which had become greater in consequence of the complaints of so many disappointed persons, but ill accorded with Columbus's

wishes. The malcontents, having returned to Spain without the treasures they had anticipated, accused the Admiral and his brothers as strangers, who had been raised from nothing to an exalted station, and wished to engross every thing to themselves, trampling upon that nation which had welcomed them, and made them great and powerful. Columbus sought a reparation of these injurious imputations, in the Royal Decrees, by means of which he either had his privileges confirmed, or more minutely explained. He then obtained a declaration (Document IV.) relative to the eighth upon the equipments, and the tenth of the produce of the newly discovered countries; an agreement that the commerce of their productions should be regulated by royal deputies in conjunction with his own (Document V.); a regulation about the colonists,—inheritance,—tributes,—and the establishment of a mint in Hispaniola

(Document VI.); a proclamation, forbidding any one to put an excessive price upon the goods and provisions which the Admiral was purchasing to take to the West Indies (Document VII.); and an order to send out a number of priests, medical men, druggists, botanists and musicians (Document VIII.) Columbus also succeeded in procuring the revocation of a royal patent of the 10th of April, 1495, by which every Spanish subject was at liberty to go and discover new islands and continents, settle in those already discovered, and to occupy as much land as they liked; with other clauses, which entirely destroyed the Admiralty and government of their original discoverer (Document IX.) Two proclamations were also published, exempting from all duties and customs, the goods, furniture and provisions, purchased in Spain for the service of the fleet and the colonies, either by order of the Sovereigns

or of the Admiral (Documents X. and XI.) But the most fatal decree which was promulgated before the third voyage of Columbus, was that which ordered the malefactors condemned to death, to the public labours, or to banishment, to be sent to the islands; commuting, for instance, capital punishment for two years' service in Hispaniola (Documents XII. XIII. and XIV.) What enormities were there not to be expected of a population formed of the refuse of society? If respectable persons were so oppressive to the Indians, and so troublesome to Columbus, what could be expected of so many outcasts, let loose from chains, from prison, or banishment? We shall notice briefly some of the other Documents; it would be tedious to mention them all. The Admiral was empowered to make a distribution of the lands and waters in Hispaniola, to whoever would undertake to remain there four years, at least, and attend

to their cultivation (Document XXII. A patent was despatched to Bartholomew Columbus, confirming him to the *Adelantamiento*, or Prefecture of the Indies, to which he had been appointed by his brother; as the court maintained that the Admiral had not the power of naming whoever he pleased to the prefecture or government of the places comprised within his kingdom and viceroyalty. The Document XXX. is particularly remarkable; Columbus had already, as we have mentioned, obtained for himself, his sons and heirs, the title of *Don*, as it would have been unseemly for an Admiral and Viceroy, to want that distinction of nobility. The Spanish monarchs, by this patent of 23d April, 1497, granted him the power of instituting one or more majorats, as well of his property and jurisdictions, as of his offices and dignity, transmissible to his sons and descendants. We may here remark, that in these

Royal Letters patent there is no mention made of the nobility of Christopher and his family; although in such kind of instruments, where prerogatives and distinctions are in question, it is the constant practice to commemorate the splendour of the grantee's ancestry; a clear proof that the noble Colombos of Cuccaro, lords of some castles in the Monferrat, had nothing to do with the Genoese hero.

Returning to his voyages, Columbus, in spite of the studied delays of Juan Fonseca, who was at the head of the party hostile to him, was able, on the 30th of May, 1498, to set sail from the port of San Lucar de Barrameda, on his third voyage to the new world. He procured the usual refreshments in the island of Porto Santo; spent a few days at Madeira; liberated, near Gomera, a Spanish vessel which had been taken by a French privateer; and on his arrival at the Feroe islands, he divided

his small squadron into two parts; three vessels he sent towards Hispaniola, one of which was commanded by his relation, Giovanni Antonio Columbus; he himself, with the other three vessels, proceeded to the Cape de Verd Islands, and keeping towards the equator, pursued his way to the new world. A terrible calm under the heats of the torrid zone afflicted his crews for eight days; the meat and wheat became putrid; the casks began to split, and the crews were dying with languor. This misfortune induced Columbus to steer rather more to the north. Sailing in this direction, on the last day of July, a seaman from the top descried three mountains rising from an island, which Columbus named *Trinidad.* But without stopping there, they went on the following day to procure water from a rivulet which they saw gushing from a point called by the Admiral *Costa.* It was therefore on the first day of August,

1498, that Europeans led by the Genoese, landed for the first time on the *continent* of the new world; as the point of *Costa* belonged to the continent, although Columbus was then unable to ascertain if it was an island, or an immense continued tract of land. Leaving this rivulet also, he conducted his vessels to the point of *Arenal*. Thither came about twenty-five Indians in a canoe. As they seemed unwilling to approach to take the presents which the Admiral exhibited to them on deck, he endeavoured to attract them by the sounds of sweet music; but they, mistaking them for warlike sounds, immediately discharged a flight of arrows, which the Spaniards returned by a discharge from their cross-bows. The canoe then fled, and the vessels went on to the mouth of a river, which appeared to disgorge into the ocean an immense volume of water, whence he gave it the name of *the Dragon's Mouth*.

Having entered, the vessels sailed 104 miles into it, and finding the water grow fresher in proportion as they advanced, they ascertained that it was a river, called by the moderns *Oronoco;* the country, they learned afterwards from the Indians, was called *Paria;* they found it abounding with gold and pearls, and inhabited by a race more civilized than the islanders. But Columbus could not remain long in these countries, as he was too much afraid of the Spaniards whom he had left in Hispaniola. On that account, on the 13th of August, he quitted the coast of Paria, and, after giving names to a multitude of other islands and suffering excessive fatigues, to which was added the gout and inflammation in the eyes, he arrived on the 30th of the same month near the new city of St. Domingo.

To understand how this new colony had risen, it is proper to relate briefly the ope-

rations of Bartholomew Columbus, prefect of the Indies; beginning from the time of his brother's return to Spain. Bartholomew was a most skilful seaman, laborious, severe, and inflexible. Don Ferdinand, his nephew, accuses him of possessing little affection for his brother the Admiral. This observation would appear rather ill-natured. The prefect's severity was sufficient to irritate the vagabonds who were left in the island, who desired nothing less than to possess themselves of all the gold in the island, amuse themselves with the women, and reduce the males to slavery. After Columbus's departure, his brother kept the people employed for three months in building a fortress, in that part of the island where gold was most abundant; he exacted tribute and regular supplies of provisions from two of the caciques; sent to Spain, by order of the court, 300 of the Indians in chains, along with their chiefs,

accused of having murdered the Spaniards: and by order of the monarchs began building the new city of St. Domingo, so called, says Don Ferdinand, in memory of his father, Domenico; but according to Peter Martyr, because the place in which it lies was first discovered on a Sunday. He transferred to the new city the inhabitants of Isabella, in which last he left only the sick, and the carpenters necessary to finish two vessels, the building of which had been already begun. He opened a road from St. Domingo to Isabella, which he secured by building five fortresses at considerable distances. He prevailed upon the powerful Cacique of Xaragua to become a tributary of Spain; dispersed by a sudden attack the forces of a number of caciques who had conspired against the Spaniards; and released Guarionex, one of them, who had been made prisoner; and finally, put two of the islanders to death, as an

example of terror to the others. The Cacique of Xaragua had a sister named *Anacaona*, who had formerly been the wife of Caunaboa, King of Cibao: she was lively, and adroit, and had great influence in the country; the prefect became the object of her peculiar attentions, with the probable expectation that he would be induced to marry her, as Diego had married another Haïtian princess.

All these actions afford sufficient evidence of the vigour and capacity of Bartholomew Columbus. But he had to struggle against the wickedness of Francisco Roldan de Ximenes, who, from a servant of the Admiral, had been made captain of the baggage-men, and subsequently chief judge of the island, to which office he was appointed by Columbus himself; but this man added a new example to the justice of the observation, that a man brought up in servitude makes the worst master. It will

be useless to enter into minute details here, of the transactions of the mutineers. For a year after the Admiral's departure they preserved in a certain degree their obedience and moderation: but finding he did not then return, and imagining that he had either perished, or been disgraced at court, they began violating all laws human and divine. They complained particularly of three things: first, that the prefect would not allow them to marry Indian women; second, that he would not leave the Indians at the Spaniards' discretion; and third, that, under pretence of the royal service and of justice, he prevented the colonists from taking advantage of the riches of the island. The tumult increased on the arrival of two vessels which Columbus had despatched a year after his arrival in Spain; and the number of insurgents was augmented by the dread of

punishment, which drove them into greater excesses. But matters became still worse on the arrival of the three vessels at St. Domingo, which the Admiral had detached from his squadron at the Feroe islands. Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal, one of the captains, an artful man, possessed of considerable authority, under pretence of wishing to settle matters peaceably, secretly fanned the flame of discord. Nor could the presence of Columbus himself put a stop to the disorders. He was the object of the hatred of Fonseca, Bishop of Badajos, whose influence at the court of Spain was then paramount; and as this was universally known, it served to give greater boldness to the rebels. From the caciques he had nothing to hope, so great and so just was their abhorrence of the Spaniards. Bartholomew and Diego were objects of detestation, as they had been frequently

obliged to punish these vagabonds with severity. And to such a pitch was the hatred of the very name of Columbus inflamed, that when Giovanni Antonio (Columbus), who had nothing whatever to do with the government, was leading one day to St. Domingo, 40 of his ship's crew, he was abandoned by 36 of them, who immediately joined the conspirators. It is true, that these miscreants soon paid dearly for their iniquities; 300 of them had died miserably; 160 more were pining away with the venereal disease; and the islanders were continually lying in wait to massacre any straggling or unarmed Spaniard. Affected by so much misery, the Admiral at last proposed to the insurgents to send them back to Spain, and to give them their arrears of pay, with a promise to certify the court of their good and faithful service. But Roldan was not paid; and it was at last settled, that he should be nominated chief judge of

Hispaniola, with the power of nominating the inferior judges, in the different parts of the island. In this manner, the most wicked became a severe judge, in order to preserve his authority.

The island appeared already to be restored to a state of tranquillity; when on the 5th of September, 1499, Alonzo Fojeda arrived with four vessels, from the coast of Brazil, and appeared desirous of putting himself at the head of the insurgents. But the firmness of the commander of the fort *Concepcion*, and of the chief judge Roldan, who was now anxious to retain by fair means the dignity he had acquired by foul, compelled Fojeda to leave St. Domingo. But Ferdinand de Guevara, enraged against the judge for not allowing him to marry an Indian princess of Suragna, formed a plan along with a miscreant of the name of Adrian, to murder Roldan. The attempt failed; the

gallows rid the island of Adrian, and Guevara was sent to meditate at the bottom of a dungeon.

But a much more formidable conspiracy was formed in Spain, by the malcontents who returned there. They assembled in the streets through which the monarchs had occasion to pass, exclaiming loudly against the Admiral; and if they happened to see his two sons, Diego and Ferdinand, who had been appointed pages to the Queen, they loaded them with insults, and the most opprobrious epithets. Influenced by these clamours, and by the secret intrigues of Fonseca, and Columbus himself having repeatedly solicited them to send a judge to the Indies with authority to put an end to the disorders, and to punish the offenders, the monarchs nominated, for that purpose, Francisco Bovadilla, commander of the order of Calatrava. This unworthy person arrived at

St. Domingo towards the end of August, 1500, bringing with him a number of blank letters subscribed by the King and Queen, and secret instructions, that if he found the Admiral guilty of what was laid to his charge, he was to send him home a prisoner, and to assume the government himself. How was it possible for the discoverer of the new world to appear innocent, having to be judged by a needy man, selected by Fonseca, his bitter enemy, and who was to establish his own fortune on the ruins of that of Columbus? The indignities which were put upon him by Bovadilla will be found detailed in his letter to the nurse of the Prince Royal of Spain, which appears in this collection (Doc. XLIV.) We shall merely observe, that Columbus being at that time in the fortress of *Concepcion*, carrying on hostilities with the Indians and insurgent Spaniards, Bovadilla declared himself prefect

of the government, took up his residence in the Admiral's house at St. Domingo, appropriated to himself all the property he found in it, seized his papers, treated favourably every one who spoke against him; and, to crown all, distributed the lands, the gold, and the Indians, as largesses to the mutineers, thus ruining the colony for the purpose of making himself friends. The Admiral, on receiving the letters of the monarchs, sent by Bovadilla, by which he was ordered to obey the Commander, immediately went to surrender himself, after giving orders to his brothers to submit to the royal authority. In consequence of this, Columbus first, then Diego, and lastly, Bartholomew, were put at the bottom of a vessel, bound with chains, with orders that no one should be allowed to speak to them. The captain of the vessel, Andrew Martin, was ordered by Bovadilla to deliver the three brothers

to Fonseca. Martin, as soon as they were out of sight of St. Domingo, offered to relieve the Admiral from his fetters, but the hero replied, that as they had been put upon him by order of his sovereigns, none but they could undo them; and that he should preserve them as a lasting memorial of the gratitude of Spain, towards the man who had opened her the road to a new world. On their arrival at Cadiz, Columbus addressed a letter to the monarchs, dated the 20th of November, 1500, informing them that he and his brothers had arrived in chains. Ferdinand and Isabella felt ashamed; they gave orders for their instant liberation, and that the Admiral should come to court to Granada, where he was received by their Highnesses with great courtesy and fair words.

Columbus was not long in ascertaining that this flattering reception was only a veil, to conceal from the world the mon-

strous ingratitude of which he was to become the victim. The monarchs of Spain subscribed, on the 27th of September, 1501, a *declaration* respecting Columbus's administration, (Document XLI.) in which they fixed the extent and the manner of the restitution to be made to him of what he had been robbed of by Bovadilla. This declaration was not conformable to the rights and privileges conferred upon him; he wrote two memorials, therefore, in vindication of them, which now appear for the first time, (Document XLII. and XLIII.) But the court, disregarding his representations, despatched the declaration to the Commander De Lares, who had been appointed to succeed the infamous Bovadilla, in the government of Hispaniola, in order that the property of which he had robbed the Admiral, might be restored in conformity to the royal declaration. It is also to be remarked, that in the royal letters

expedited since the imprisonment of Columbus, the designation of *our Viceroy and Governor of the Indies*, was omitted, as if the complaints of mutinous soldiers, or the violence of Bovadilla, in defiance of all forms of justice, had been sufficient motives to strip the *discoverer* of these two important prerogatives. In the mean time, the man who had given to Spain a new hemisphere, was living miserably in that kingdom; he had no house of his own, and when he wished to dine, sup, or sleep, (as he himself writes in a letter, reprinted by Bossi, p. 211.) *he had no place to repair to except an inn, and very frequently had not wherewithal to pay his reckoning.* The ingratitude of the court, the contempt of the Spaniards, and the poverty to which he found himself and his family reduced, sometimes extorted from his pen those bitter but sincere expressions which are to be found in his letter to the Nurse, as well as

in the one just quoted. It was then that his thoughts were turned longingly towards Italy, and Genoa his native country. He cultivated the friendship of Nicolo Oderico, ambassador from the Genoese to Spain, and of Angelo Trevisani, secretary to the Venetian ambassador, at the same court. He sent to Oderico two copies of the privileges he obtained from the Spanish monarchs, as an eternal memorial of his undertaking, and probably of the melancholy recompence he had obtained; a similar copy he had promised at Granada, in 1501, to give to Trevisani; whether this promise was fulfilled, we have not the means of ascertaining.

It appears, however, that he had abandoned all thoughts of the new world, and that the Spanish ministry took a pleasure in leaving him in obscurity, dejection and poverty. At last it was determined to employ him in a fourth voyage, with the

express condition (Document XLI.) that in his voyage to the West Indies, he should not touch at Hispaniola; and that only on his return, he might, in case of necessity, put in there for a short time. He was permitted to take with him his youngest son, Ferdinand, then only twelve years old, and the allowance made to him (as page to the Queen) was given to his eldest son, Don Diego. His brother Bartholomew also went with him, as well as a Genoese gentleman of great courage, named Bartholomew Fieschi. The squadron consisted of four vessels, with 150 persons on board, and sailed from the canal of Cadiz on the 9th of May, 1502. The narrative of this voyage is given in a letter of Columbus, which has been frequently quoted, and is reprinted by Bossi.

Columbus passed from the Canaries to the western islands, in sixteen days. But as one of his vessels proved a very bad sailer, he

went to St. Domingo to exchange her for a better, and to wait there until a dreadful hurricane which he foresaw to be approaching, had passed over. The commander, De Lares, would not suffer him to enter, and although he was advised by him to delay the sailing of a convoy of 28 vessels, which were about to return to Europe, for eight days, he despised the warning. The storm came on: of the four vessels of Columbus, not one was lost, although they underwent the most incredible dangers; but of the 28 destined for Europe, no less than 24 went to the bottom, on board of which were Bovadilla and the other conspirators, with the greatest part of the treasures of which they had robbed Columbus and the poor Indians. Pursuing his voyage, he touched at the port of Brasil; the Pozo islands and that of Guanari; Bartholomew, his brother, landed upon this last, to get information of some islanders,

and took a canoe, which had a covering of palm-tree leaves; it was rowed by 25 men; under the covering were placed the women and children, and their effects. Two things surprised the Spaniards, in these people; the first, that the women were covered, like the Moors of Granada, with a cotton shirt, and that the men had brass knives. Continuing his voyage, in the expectation of finding a strait at the bottom of the great Gulf, which is now called the Gulf of Mexico, he coasted along the continent; of which, on the 17th of August, 1502, Bartholomew Columbus took possession, with the usual formalities. But one of the most dreadful storms that was ever known, disturbed the pleasures of the navigators; for several days they neither saw sun nor stars; their sails were torn to pieces, their anchors lost, and the stress upon the vessels was such as to make the hearts of the boldest mariners tremble; Columbus him-

self, weakened by the gout and long suffering, was grieved beyond measure for his young son, and his brother, whom he had in a manner compelled to follow him, intrusting to him the worst ship; by means of a small cabin erected on the castle of the poop, he made them the necessary signals. Having escaped this great danger, he repaired his vessels at the land of Cariai, touched at the coast of Carambaru, where the natives wore gold mirrors round their necks; from thence he went to Veragua; and on the 28th of October, he was driven by the wind into a port which he called *Porto de los Bastimentos;* another storm tossed them about for nine days in such a manner, that they looked upon themselves as lost; the lightning was so incessant and tremendous, that the heavens appeared to be on fire. On the day of the Epiphany, he returned to Veragua, and took shelter in the neighbouring river; rain set in, and con-

tinued without interruption to the 14th of February, 1503, during which the vessels were in imminent danger. Bartholomew, with two Indian guides, and 70 men, set out to reconnoitre the country, which was found to abound in gold; on that account, Columbus, having made a treaty with *Quibian*, (which was the name given by these people to their prince,) set about building some houses, thatched with straw, with the intention of forming a trading settlement there. The Indians, however, made a sudden attack on this new establishment, but were repulsed, and Quibian, with his wife and sons, remained a prisoner. He found means, however, to make his escape, along with his sons, and to carry on a most annoying warfare with the Spaniards, who were discouraged by another misfortune. The winds had shut up the mouth of the river; and in April, all the vessels were rotted; a canal was dug to get them out of the place, but

the sea was so rough as to prevent the execution of this plan. At last, after a number of skirmishes with the natives of the country, in which Bartholomew received a wound; after immense labours; after giving the name of St. Christopher to the highest mountain, and leaving in the river a vessel completely perforated with holes, so that she could sail no longer, the whole crews left that unfortunate spot. At Portobello, they left another of the vessels, and with the two which remained, without either boats or provisions, they attempted to reach Hispaniola; but both winds and waves appeared to thwart their wishes, and after losing all their anchors except one, they arrived, almost by miracle, at the island of Jamaica, towards the end of June, 1503. After some days rest, Diego Mendez and Bartholomew Fieschi, set out for Hispaniola, in two canoes, manned by Indian rowers, for the purpose of

obtaining provisions and vessels, to enable them to leave Jamaica; both the caravels which remained, being completely unfit to put to sea again. Shortly after their departure, two brothers, of the name of Porras, raised a mutiny among the Spaniards, against the Admiral, who was lying on a sick bed, took some canoes, and followed by a number of persons, set off for Haiti; but being unable to overcome the contrary winds, they cut the throats of their Indian rowers, and were obliged to return to Jamaica, where they committed the greatest excesses. Some time after, when the inhabitants of the island began to withhold their supplies of provisions, Columbus, by threatening them with the vengeance of the Deity, for such barbarity, and predicting that within a few hours they would no longer see the moon, (which was verified by a lunar eclipse happening the same night,) induced them to furnish provisions in

abundance. Meanwhile a vessel arrived to visit Columbus in the name of De Lares, the governor of Hispaniola; but without doing more than delivering a cask of wine and some salt pork, and announcing the safe arrival of the two messengers (Mendez and Fieschi), departed immediately. This act of inhuman barbarity served to confirm the mutineers in the idea that Columbus was detested by the court, and that on that account the Governor had left him to perish miserably in Jamaica. A fresh conspiracy was excited, and they were preparing to attack him. But Bartholomew, arming his faithful followers, laid hold of these miscreants, and by putting several of them to death, quelled the mutiny.

It was the end of May, 1504, before a vessel arrived at Jamaica, which had been bought by Mendez at Hispaniola, with the Admiral's money. On the 28th of June the whole of them embarked in this vessel,

both friends and enemies; on their arrival at the city of St. Domingo the Governor received Columbus with a great affectation of pleasure, but he liberated Porras the leader of the mutineers, whom he was taking with him as a prisoner to Spain. They left St. Domingo on the 12th of September; the voyage was a most disagreeable one from the succession of stormy weather, and the Admiral was so afflicted with the gout that he was obliged to keep his bed. They landed at the port of San Lucar de Barrameda, where Columbus stopped some time to repose after his labours and disappointments. Isabella, his protectress, was just dead; Ferdinand continued to thwart him, and was actually meditating the revocation of his privileges. This he had in fact already done, by the permission he had given to a number of adventurers to proceed on the discovery of new countries in the West Indies.

Overcome by the feeling of the ingratitude he had experienced, his constitution worn out by the gout and his past fatigues, and dejected in his mind at seeing himself thus poor and abandoned, after having opened the new hemisphere to the Spanish nation, this great man departed this life, with sentiments of the greatest devotion, on the 20th of May, 1506, at Valladolid. His corpse was removed to Seville, and buried in the great church of that city with great funeral pomp; and by order of King Ferdinand, whose jealousy his death had extinguished, was honoured with a marble monument with the following epitaph engraved upon it.

A CASTILLA Y A LEON
NUEVO MONDO DIO COLON.

(To Castille and to Leon a new world gave Colon.)

This is the only inscription worthy of the immortal discoverer of the new world.

The glory of the Genoese hero will be always unparalleled. A conqueror may arise to surpass Alexander; a poet to excel Virgil; but no one can ever rival Columbus, because *no new hemisphere remains to be discovered.*—(Bossi.)

Columbus left two sons; Diego, by his wife Philippa Mogniz Pelestrello; and Ferdinand, his illegitimate son, by Beatrice Henriquez. The latter, who was born in 1490, or perhaps earlier, entered into the church, and devoted himself to literary pursuits; he travelled through Europe collecting books to form a great library, and took with him from Flanders two learned men, Nicolas Clenardus and Andrew Vaseus, whom he kept in his pay; he paid a visit to Genoa, his father's country, and died at Seville, in the year 1540 or 1541, bequeathing to the Dominicans of that city his valuable library of 12,000 volumes.

Diego inherited the rights and honours

of his father. His eldest son, Luis, succeeded him, who, by way of compromise with the Emperor Charles V. preserved the title of Admiral of the Indies, but exchanged the dignity of Viceroy for the island of Jamaica with the title of Marquis, and that of Governor for Veragua with the title of Duke, and received a pension of 10,000 gold doubloons in lieu of the tenth assigned to Columbus on all the productions of the Indies. Luis left only an illegitimate son named Christopher, and on that account was succeeded by his nephew Don Diego, the legitimate son of his younger brother Christopher. This Diego died without issue in 1578. (We may here mention by the way, that Luis Columbus, a person of debauched character, came to Genoa about the year 1568, bringing with him the MS. Life of the hero, written in Spanish by his son Don Ferdinand, which he left in the hands of the patrician Fornari, from

whom it passed to another patrician, Giov. Baptista Marini. The latter, having gone to Venice, procured a translation of it to be made there into Italian by a Spanish scholar, Alfonso Ulloa, which translation was published in that city in 1571, in 8vo. The original Spanish manuscript was lost. It would be very rash therefore to assert that the translator had interpolated the Life by Ferdinand. If any one has such a suspicion, let him turn to the same Ulloa's translation of the Asia of Barros (printed at Venice, 1562, in 4to.) and he will find, at page 55, the following words, " According to the universal opinion, Christopher Columbus was a Genoese.")

The direct male line of Christopher having thus become extinct in 1578, gave rise to the most celebrated law-suit which Europe had ever witnessed. Diego, who died in 1578, had a sister (probably illegitimate) named Francesca, who was married to a li-

centiate named Ortegon. The first Diego, the son of the hero, left three daughters; Maria, who took the veil in a convent at Valladolid; Juanna, who married into the powerful house of Toledo; and Isabella, who married Count Georgio Gelves, of the family of Portogallo. The illegitimate Christopher (the son of Luis) also brought forward his claims. From the territory of Genoa there only appeared Bernard Columbus of Cogoleto, claiming to be the descendant in a direct line of Bartholomew Columbus, the hero's brother. At that time there also lived at Genoa, Balthazar Columbus, of the house of Cuccaro and Conzano, in the Monferrat. This Balthazar had (according to my MS. of *Documenti Lomellini*, page 77, No. 126.) in the year 1573, married Livia, daughter of Raffaele Usodimare Oliva and Benedettina Lomellini, and was more distinguished for his noble blood than his wealth. As he found, in reading the Life of Colum-

lumbus, by Don Ferdinand, that Christopher's father was named Domenico, and recollected that among his ancestors of Cuccaro there was also registered a Domenico, he took it into his head to lay claim to the fallen inheritance of the great Christopher. With this view he went to the Monferrat, induced his connexions and friends to favour his pretensions, composed a genealogical tree, which, in the tenth century, had very illustrious roots; procured several countrymen in the neighbouring places to depose that the discoverer of America was born in the castle, and was of the family of Cuccaro. Furnished with these documents he proceeded to Spain, where he continued obstinately to prosecute the suit until the 2d of December, 1608, on which day Don Nugno Gelves de Portogallo (as the descendant of Isabella Columbo, the youngest daughter of Diego) was admitted into possession of the inheritance. Balthazar died

in Spain, and his son, on his return to Italy, in order to mitigate the effect of the sentence which had been pronounced invalidating his claims, reported that he had made a compromise with the adverse party, and received 12,000 gold doubloons; but Ignazio de Giovanni, a learned canon of Casalmonferrat, gave no credit to this bravado, as the house of Colombo of Cuccaro continued in a state of poverty. Bernard Columbus, of Cogoleto, was not admitted as a party, as Bartholomew Columbus, Prefect of the Indies, whose descendant he claimed to be, had left no acknowledged offspring. Diego, the Admiral's younger brother, also died childless. The illegitimate Christopher could not stand in competition with the legitimate descendants in the female line.

We cannot conclude our historical researches without recording the testaments and codicils of Columbus. He had made a

testament in 1498, which has been noticed by Herrera, by Salineri, and by Campi; an imperfect copy of it was published in the Dissertation of 1808, and on that account its authenticity was questioned; and, finally, it has been printed in the Transactions of the Academy of Genoa with the necessary accuracy. In this document he declares that he was born in Genoa, and recommends his son Diego to honour that city on that account, and to be serviceable to it. Nor did Diego disregard his father's recommendation; for the court of Spain having prohibited access, in the strictest manner, to the new world to all strangers, he did what was in his power to mitigate the rigour of this prohibition as regarded the Genoese. This testament did not take effect, in consequence of the testator's declaration that he had made another on the 1st of April, 1502, which was deposited in the hands of Father Gaspar Certosa of Seville. But this

second never appeared, and the heirs preferred to leave it in oblivion; the motives of this we know not, but it would not be very rash to suspect that Columbus had poured out in it the bitterness of his heart against the court. A codicil has been published, written at Segovia by Christopher, in August, 1505, and signed at Valladolid, the 19th of May, 1506, which refers to the testament of 1502. It is rather doubtful if the copy of it, which has been published, is perfect in all its parts. Much more famous is the Codicil, made *according to military usage*, and written in a blank leaf of the Breviary which we have already mentioned to have been presented to him by Pope Alexander VI. It is dated at Valladolid, the 14th of May, 1506. The defenders of the Cuccaro claims, possessing only an incorrect copy of it, found reasons to make them suspect its authenticity, although Andres, Tiraboschi, and Gaetani

were fully persuaded it was genuine. An illustrious Genoese patrician, assisted by a learned foreigner, made an exact copy of it, which made the objections vanish that were founded on nothing but a false reading. To such as ask whether Alexander VI. ever thought of books of devotion, we may reply that the question does not shew much knowledge of the character of that pontiff, who, on more than one occasion, exhibited a sacerdotal zeal towards the faithful, which unfortunately he did not know how to turn towards himself and his family. We would then refer him to an article published by the Abbé Cancellieri, in the *Effemeridi Romane*, in which there is a list of a number of articles stopped at the Custom-house at Bologna, which Cesar Borgia, immediately upon the death of Alexander, had dispatched to the Duchess of Ferrara, his sister. On examining the cases, they were found to be filled with personal effects of

the late Pope, among which is registered a *Breviary of the Virgin.*

In the military codicil Columbus acknowledges the republic of Genoa for his native country; it is not wonderful therefore that the advocates of the Cuccaro claims have attempted to cry down a document which so much invalidates them. At the bottom of this codicil, as well as in the letters to Nicolo Oderigo, (which will be found at the end of this collection,) Columbus makes use, as a subscription, of a cypher formed of seven letters in the following form:

S.
S. A. S.
X. M. Y.

But these letters, say they, are *unintelligible;* therefore the cypher as well as the codicil are forgeries. In this case the *cui bono* of Cassius may be turned to good account. The Breviary in question was dis-

covered upon a little book-stall at Rome, and purchased for a few half-pence. An impostor, capable of forging a document which would give rise to disputes among the learned, does not set to work for such a trifle. It is very easy, however, to stamp as a forgery what is not understood. The French have the legal clause, *Clameur de Haro*; the illustrious house of Savoy the famous motto FERT. Vain attempts have been made by the learned to explain these mysteries; respecting the *Fert*, the Count Galeani Napione makes a candid acknowledgment in the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Turin, vol. xxv.; and the learned Baron Vernázza had already made a similar one. What if it should happen, however, that these letters can be most readily explained? Don Ferdinand relates, in chap. iii. that his father, "*when he had to write any thing, never tried his pen without first writing these words: Jesus cum Maria sit*

nobis in via." We have already remarked that after he had been elevated to his dignities, Columbus changed his ancient subscription; and it was natural that he should also change his cypher. We must now observe that the letters placed above the three lower ones are considerably smaller, and may be considered as the final ones of the words; and therefore the cypher may be read thus, *Xristus, Sancta Maria, Yosephus;* or, to bring it nearer to the *sit* of the old subscription: *Salva-me, Xristus, Maria, Yosephus.* Finally, the advocates of Cuccaro are not the proper judges of the codicil, but such as are not at all interested in the question; such as Andres, Tiraboschi, Gaetani, and Bossi, all of whom have been satisfied that it is genuine. Our adversaries are quite excusable in entertaining doubts of the authenticity of a document which had been copied in the most incorrect manner; but now that they pos-

sess a fac-simile of the original, it would be only fighting with shadows to repeat the first arguments.

To conclude the history of Columbus, we should observe, that as he makes no mention of his parents either in the testament or the two codicils, it proves that they were already dead. Of his mother Susanna, nothing certain is known, but she was living in 1468; as in an instrument preserved in the archives of Savona, it appears that Giacomo (in Spain *Diego*), the brother of Christopher, completed his sixteenth year on the 10th of September, 1484, on which day he was put to learn the business of a cloth-weaver in the woollen manufactory of Luchino Cadamartori. In other instruments preserved in the same archives, Domenico Colombo, the father of our navigator, is named as living in the year 1484; in the archives of Genoa his name is to be seen up to 1489. But it has been ascertained

that he was still living in 1494, by a testament, of which I have a copy, subscribed at Genoa, near St. Stefano, to which Domenico Colombo, *olim textor pannorum*, is a witness. It is therefore proved to demonstration, that our Domenico, *textor pannorum*, who was living in 1494, can have nothing to do with Domenico Colombo, of the family of Cuccaro and Conzano, *who died in* 1456. Tiraboschi's remark is an acute one, that the pretensions of Monferrat must be always regarded as an absurdity, until it is proved to be impossible that two persons of the name of Domenico Colombo could have lived in the same century. Having alluded to the archives of Savona, I am led to observe that there is no foundation for two accusations brought against Giulio Salinero, who first published the documents above referred to. The first is, that he wished to make it be believed that Columbus was a native of Savona; now he ex-

pressly declares (page 333) that whoever should deny Genoa the honour of giving birth to this incomparable man ought to be looked upon *as a monster*. The second is, that in these documents there appear as real persons a *Sejo* and a *Tizio*. But if the accusers had cast their eyes on the margin of the book, they would have read *ficta nomina dignis de causis;* and the real names have been discovered by the Archivist Belloro, and published at Turin, by Baron Vernazza, in 1810; on which occasion that learned person, although a native of Alba in the Monferrat, expressed his compunction for having supported the pretensions of the family of Cuccaro; and whoever will read coolly the protest with which Sordi, the famous jurisconsult of Monferrat concluded his lengthened argument for Balthazar Columbus, (Cons. 241.) must be satisfied that he felt the same compunction. Meanwhile I am desirous that the readers of this Me-

moir may be satisfied that, after so many disputes, the ancient opinion, as to the country of Columbus, is that which is the most satisfactory to the lovers of truth. The arguments of the Genoese, and the opposite ones of the advocates of Cuccaro, have been coolly and impartially discussed by Bossi, in the notes to his Life of Columbus; by his Eminence Cardinal Zurla, in his work on the Venetian Navigators; and by the celebrated Edinburgh Reviewers, in the number of their Review for 1816 already mentioned. Who is there that will venture to oppose such judgments? No one who does not wilfully shut the ears of his understanding to the principles of just reasoning and the foundations of jurisprudence. We must hold fast to truth; for falsehood, however agreeable and advantageous it may prove, is not therefore the less deformed; and to derive pleasure from throwing doubts on what is certain may insensibly lead us to a fatal scepticism.

Having thus given a rapid, but accurate sketch of the life of our hero, we must now speak of this collection which at last sees the light. We shall first give a bibliographical description of the manuscript, for the satisfaction of such as cannot have an opportunity of examining it.

The manuscript is on parchment, in a small folio volume, bound in Spanish leather, with two silver ornaments on the sides, and inclosed in a Spanish leather bag, which had originally a silver lock, (as described in Columbus's second autograph letter,) but it has been taken off, leaving only a mark on the place to which it had been fastened.

At the beginning of the manuscript is an original letter of Philip II., King of Spain, to Ottaviano Oderico, Doge of Genoa, *(printed at the end of this collection.)*

Then follows a leaf of parchment, on the back of which is a memorandum relative to Lorenzo Oderico, who, in 1669, or 1670, gave this manuscript to the republic.

Then comes the title, written in red and black letters, with arabesque ornaments; CARTAS, PRIVILEG', CEDULAS Y OTRAS ESCRITURAS DE DON CHRISTOVAL COLON, ALMIRANTE MAYOR DEL MAR OCEANO, VISOREY Y GOVERNADOR DE LAS ISLAS Y TIERRA FIRMA. The writing is a species of Gothic. On the back of the title is the coat of arms of Columbus, such as he used after having discovered America, and had his dignities conferred upon him. *(See the vignette in the title-page.)*

The next leaf contains the table of the documents contained in the manuscript.

Then begin the Documents themselves, which occupy 42 leaves, numbered only on one side. The initial letters are painted and ornamented; and the argument of each Document is written in the margin in a beautiful miniature character. Strictly speaking, the MS. finishes at the end of the 42d leaf, (Document XXXVI.) where

the subscriptions of the notaries and alcaldes of Seville are placed, and in whose presence the copy was made from the originals. Then follows, in eight pages of parchment, the Bull of Pope Alexander VI. about the famous line of demarcation. Then follow eight other pages of Documents, written after the first, and legalized in the usual form; and these are succeeded by five blank leaves.

Next comes a Document in which Columbus comments upon his privileges and defends his rights; this occupies three pages, the fourth being blank. The piece which follows is of the same description; in this Columbus himself recapitulates methodically, the articles of the convention, which he made with the Catholic monarchs, on his setting out on his first expedition; and defends his rights with much warmth and force of reasoning. This occupies nine pages and part of a tenth.

After this comes Columbus's Letter to the Nurse of the Prince Don Juan, which fills ten pages.

On the last leaf is a memorandum of the different copies which had been made of the original privileges of Columbus; and this finishes the part of the MS. which is on parchment.

The two autograph letters of Columbus to his friend Nicolo Oderigo, written on paper, are pasted into the book; as is also the reply of the Magistrate of St. George to Columbus. Judging from the writing and comparing it with other ancient MSS. we should consider ourselves not far wrong in saying, that this copy was written in the first years of the sixteenth century.

At the end of the whole, there is a pictorial sketch on half a sheet of paper, symbolical of Columbus and his discovery.

This manuscript, with another exactly similar, was sent by Columbus, by means

of Francisco de Rivarolo, to his confidential friend Nicolo Oderigo, with instructions to deposit it in a place of safe custody, and to send notice thereof to his eldest son, Don Diego. This caution is another proof that Columbus had not given up the idea of returning to his mother country, with the whole or part of his family; and on that account he was anxious that his son should know in what place the documents of his father were deposited. Whatever might be the reason, it appears that Oderigo kept both the MSS. in his own possession, to one of which (and it is the one from which our transcript has been made) were added, the two autograph letters of Columbus, and subsequently the letter of Philip II. to Ottaviano Oderigo, on his being elected Doge of Genoa. Lorenzo Oderigo considered himself to be rendering a service to his country, by making it a present of both MSS., an acknowledgment

of which is given in the gracious decree of the Most Serene College, of the 10th of January, 1670, as we read in the memorandum written on the back of the first leaf of our MS. In the civil and military disturbances of later times, the secret archives of the Genoese government underwent many vicissitudes; one of the two MSS. was taken from Genoa to Paris; and up to the 29th of January, 1821, it had not been restored to the government of our august sovereign, as the most illustrious syndics of Genoa were informed by a letter from H. E. Count Galeani Napione. The other MS. which was believed to be lost, re-appeared after the death of the senator, Count Michelangelo Cambiasi. The valuable library of this nobleman, having been advertised for sale by auction, in the month of July, 1816, there was found in the catalogue, at No. 1922, *Codice de' Privilegj del Colombo.* The decurions of the city being

exceedingly anxious to purchase a monument so interesting to the glory of the Genoese, prevailed upon the executors of Cambiaso, to suspend the sale of it until the King's pleasure was known on the representation they had made on the subject to his Majesty. The King's orders were, that it should be sent to Turin, and deposited in the archives of the court; Count Carbonara, first President of the Royal Senate of Genoa, was instructed to do this without delay, in a letter of the 17th March, 1817, from Count Borgarelli, then first Secretary of State for the interior. The wish of the decurions of Genoa was subsequently gratified, as his Majesty, having had a most accurate copy of the MS. made at Turin, and deposited in the court archives, was graciously pleased to give up the original to the Genoese. On the 29th of January, 1821, it was transmitted by Signor Cav. Nicolo Solari, councillor of


QVAE HIC SVNT MEMORABILIA
EPISTOLAS QVAS EXPENDIT
HIS PATRIAM IPSE SEMPER SVAM
EX QVO QVIDQVAM NOVI AVT RES AVDIVIT
QVOVE MIHI CREDITVM THESAVRIZET
M. DCCC XXI

his Majesty, to MM. the Marquis Girolamo Cattaneo, and Advocate Matteo Molfino, at that time syndics; to whom was subsequently intrusted the charge of erecting a monument, and of publishing the MS. itself, along with a translation, which is now executed. Having obtained possession of the MS. it was determined in a special council, on the 31st July, 1821, to erect a *custodia* or monument, in which it might be preserved with security and distinction. The general council approved this determination on the 16th of August following; in consequence of which, a marble monument was erected, designed by Sign. Carlo Barrabbino, architect of the city, and executed by the sculptor, Sign. Peschiera.

It was wished, and very properly, that the likeness of the navigator should grace the monument. There are several portraits of him, but not one of them resembles another. The Signori Colombo, of Cuccaro,

exhibited a painted bust of him, which they pretended to be a genuine portrait of Christopher, on the ground that, as he was born at Cuccaro, it was to be presumed that a genuine likeness of him would be carefully preserved in his family. This reasoning, however, falls to the ground; first, because it assumes what has been demonstrated not to be the fact, as to his birth; and second, as it appears even by their own admission, that Columbus ran away when he was only four or five years of age, never again was seen at Monferrat, and never spoke of Cuccaro, or mentioned it to his nearest friends, how was it possible for them to have in that castle the resemblance of the discoverer of America? The engraving of this picture, published in the Dissertation of 1808, clearly proves that it has not the slightest resemblance to the features of the hero, minutely as they were described by his son Don Ferdinand, as we

shall see presently; nor would any critic allow that a portrait, executed by a person who had never seen the original, had preserved more faithfully the features of the countenance, than a description written by the son and the companion of Columbus. *Sometimes,* said Count Perticari to the able artist Agricola, *words paint better than the lines of designers;* and on that true principle he wished the artist in question, not to confine himself to a mere copy of Orcagna's portrait of Dante, but to study attentively the description of the poet's features, which has been handed down to us by his commentator, Benvenuto da Imola. No one can flatter himself that Spain can produce a true portrait of Columbus. The learned Baron Vernazza remarks, that it is not known, "that before 1506, there was any painter or sculptor living in Spain, excepting Antonio de Rincon, a Castilian; who, according to Palamino, painted portraits of

Ferdinand and Isabella for a church at Toledo, which are not mentioned by Conca. It is not said that he painted a portrait of Columbus." We have no wish to conceal that Theodore de Bry pretended that he possessed a portrait of the hero, the same that was to be seen in an apartment of the council of the Indies; from which place having been stolen, and carried to the Netherlands for sale, it came finally into the hands of De Bry, who gave an engraving of it in his *America*. This print has been copied in the Eulogium of Columbus, by the Marquis Durazzo, printed by Bodoni, and in the Life by Bossi, published at Milan. There are numerous reasons for impugning the authenticity of De Bry's portrait. A man who feels no remorse at stealing, and is not even ashamed to avow himself a thief, will be ready enough to tell a lie for the purpose of extorting a few ducats from a credulous amateur. The

History of the Spanish Painters, as is mentioned above, gives no countenance to this thief's story. But what is more, on comparing De Bry's engraving with Ferdinand's description, it will be seen that they entirely disagree. And Baron Vernazza, having compared that of De Bry with the one published by Bullart, and that given by Muñoz, as well as the Cuccaro portrait, finds an essential discrepancy in the whole of them. What, therefore, are we to conclude? We must adopt the same conclusions as Professor Ab. Marsand, after remarking the differences between the numerous supposed portraits of Petrarch: not one resembles another—therefore they are all false. And certainly, if they had been taken from the life, they must have preserved more or less the character of the original, as is seen in those of Dante; all of which present the features of the countenance with such truth, that after

seeing any one, it is easy to recognize the countenance of Alighieri among a thousand portraits. For these weighty reasons, the sculptor, Signor Peschiera, was bound, in executing the bust in marble, to copy none of the portraits hitherto published. Nor was it, therefore, meant, that he should model an *ideal* head of the hero, but that, having before him a true resemblance, not painted by the lines of the designer, but forcibly expressed in the words of accurate writers, who had lived with that wonderful man, he should form a true effigy of Columbus, which should serve as a model for all future portraits, whose object should be to represent, not ideal features, but the real countenance of the Genoese hero. We now come to the description left us by Ferdinand Columbus, who was above sixteen years of age when he lost his father. "He was a man of good figure, rather above the middle sta-

ture; with a long visage, and rather high cheek bones; neither fat nor lean; he had an aquiline nose, and light eyes; fair, and very fresh coloured. In his youth he had light hair, but after he arrived at the age of thirty, it became quite grey." In the old collection intitled *Paesi nuovamente trovati*, reprinted at Milan, in 1512, is the following description, taken from a long narrative of a companion of Columbus. " Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, a man of tall and large stature, ruddy, of great understanding, and long visage." Finally, Girolamo Benzone, who, although he never saw Columbus, (the same as Benvenuto never knew Dante,) speaks of him with such minuteness, that it is evident he either copied some authentic account, or derived his information from the *viva voce* details of Spaniards who had sailed with Columbus, gives the following account. " He was a man of reasonably good stature;

of strong and active body; sound judgment, lofty understanding, and agreeable aspect; he had sparkling eyes, red hair, aquiline nose, and rather large mouth; above all he was a friend to justice; but passionate when provoked." These particulars, which I communicated to the sculptor, directed his hand and mind; and his production has succeeded in obtaining distinguished praise from the connoisseurs of the fine arts. Every one possessed of a grain of understanding, after seeing this head, which expresses the living and true lineaments and proportions of the hero, will throw aside every other portrait; and especially that engraved in wood given in the Eulogies of Giovio, in which the discoverer of America is represented with a hood and prelate's gown, as if he had been a conventual friar, or a hermit of St. Augustin.

In the trunk of the column which sup-

ports the urn in which the MS. is inclosed, is the following inscription in letters of bronze gilt:

QVAE · HEIC · SVNT · MEMBRANAS
EPISTOLAS · Q · EXPENDITO
HIS · PATRIAM · IPSE · NEMPE · SVAM
COLVMBVS · APERIT
EN · QVID · MIHI · CREDITVM · THESAVRI · SIET

DECR · DECVRIONVM · GENVENS.

M · DCCC · XXI.

(See the annexed Engraving.)

It is not necessary for me to demonstrate the accuracy of what is stated in this inscription, the composition of which I had the honour of being intrusted with, by the body of Decurions. The collection consists of two parts; instruments written on parchment, and letters written on paper. In the first, it is seen, that Columbus was a *man of no family;* because he required to have the privilege of *Don;* be-

cause the sovereigns, even when they wish to honour him, no where acknowledge him to be of noble birth; because, neither in his two Memorials in vindication of his rights, nor in his letter to the Nurse, does he himself ever venture to allude to the antiquity, splendour and estates of his family, which he would have been sure to do, to prove, in some degree, to the Spaniards that he was not a man deserving their contempt. It is clear, then, that the Columbus with the privileges could not be the eldest son of the illustrious House of Cuccaro, the lords of various castles in the Monferrat. This *negative* carries along with it the *affirmative*, that he was of a Genoese plebeian family. This collection, therefore, *indicates, makes known, makes manifest*, (aperit) his real country. If we were willing even to concede, for a moment, that the two letters were of doubtful authenticity, the documents on parchment are

quite sufficient to prove that he was not of a wealthy or noble family; and even in that case, he *aperit* his real country; as the great point in dispute is restricted to two contraries—either he was of Cuccaro and noble—or he was of Genoa and a poor woolcarder. Besides all this, as Balthazar Columbus, in order to prove his consanguinity, asserted, that Columbus bore *doves* in his coat of arms, the same as the Cuccaro family, and from the identity of the arms, inferred the identity of the family, the MS. *now* proves beyond dispute, that Columbus's own arms were a *bar of azure in a field or*. And this is another circumstance which *aperit* the country of the hero.

But the different parts of the collection are so connected, that from this reciprocal correspondence and connexion, (always looked for in vain in forged letters,) the genuineness of Columbus's letters is per-

spicuously evident. That the portion of the collection written on parchment is genuine, is equally admitted by our adversaries as by us. The original was in the possession of the Oderico family, as is proved by Genoese memoirs, and as may be inferred from the letter of Philip II. to the Doge, Ottaviano Oderico. The two autograph letters of Columbus are written to a Nicolo Oderico, a real personage mentioned in history, as may be seen in the first book of Casoni's Annals. What wonder was it that Nicolo or his family should attach the two letters received from Columbus to the manuscript? It would have been rather wonderful if they had not done so. The contents of these letters are such as to prove of themselves the truth of every thing. The date of the first is the 21st of March, 1502, in which he mentions that he is on the eve of his departure. Turn to the Documents, (No. XLI.) and there will be

found a letter from the Spanish monarchs of the 14th March, 1502, in which they urge him to hasten as much as possible his departure for America. In his own letter, Columbus says that the Sovereigns promised to give him all that he expected, and to put Don Diego, his son, in possession of every thing to which he had a right, as the eldest. Hear the expressions of the royal letter: " The favours which we have conferred upon you shall be preserved entire to you . . . . . and we shall order your son to be put in possession of all." The same confrontation may be made with the second autograph letter. The reply of the magistrate of St. George is conformable to the Annals of Giustiniani, and of Casoni; and fully corresponds with the second letter of Columbus. I conclude, therefore, that the reply of the magistrate of St. George relates to the second autograph letter; that refers to the

first, and both of them to the manuscript volume on parchment, and to the family of Oderico; and a letter relative to the same family was found at the beginning. Every thing, therefore, corresponds; every thing is supported by tradition, history and criticism.

The translation is literal, and therefore devoid of ornament; in diplomatic papers and notarial acts we must not look for elegance: *ornari res ipsa negat.* The text of the MS. I have copied with scrupulous fidelity, excepting the punctuation. "In the publication of ancient documents," observed Muratori, *Antich. Ital.* Diss. 40. "and particularly of any extraordinary manuscript, it is most desirable to adhere closely to the reading of the MS. unless in the evident errors of copyists."

From what has been here said, an idea may be formed of the value of the treasure which the illustrious civil magistracy of

Genoa were desirous of preserving in a public monument of marble; a treasure hitherto buried in the dust of archives, or tossed about amid the dangers of private families; a treasure which contains the diplomatic history of the discovery of America, and of Christopher Columbus: that is, of the most memorable event which had occurred for ages, and of a hero who reflects the highest honour on Genoa, on Italy, and on Europe.

LETTERS,

PRIVILEGES, NOTES,

AND OTHER WRITINGS,

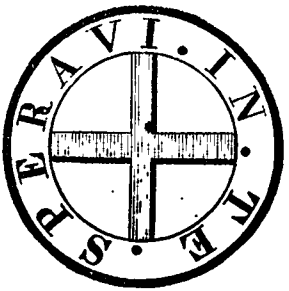
OF

DON CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,

HIGH ADMIRAL OF THE OCEAN,

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR OF THE ISLANDS

AND MAIN-LAND.



In the most noble and most faithful City of Seville, Wednesday, the fifth day of the month of January, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, One Thousand Five Hundred and Two: the said day, about the hour when Vespers are terminated, being in the dwelling-house of the Admiral of the Indies, situated in the said City, in the parish of St. Mary, before Stephen della Rocca and Christopher Ruis Montero, *ordinary Alcaldes* in this abovesaid city of Seville, in the presence of the underwritten witnesses, appeared and presented himself the very magnificent Lord Don Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the Ocean, Viceroy and Governor of the Islands and Main Land, and presented before the said *Alcaldes* certain letters, privileges, and notes, of the aforesaid King and Queen our Lords, written on paper and parchment, and signed with their

royal names, and sealed with their seals of lead, hanging by threads of coloured silk, and on the back part (sealed) with coloured wax, and by certain officers of their royal house, according as by them, and each of them, it appeared. The tenor of which, one after the other, is as follows.

DOCUMENT I.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

FERDINAND of SORIA, Lieutenant of our High Admiral of Castile, We command you to give and cause to be given to Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean, a copy, legally authenticated, of whatsoever letters of grace, and privileges, and confirmations, as are in possession of the said High Admiral of Castile, relative to the said charge and office of Admiral; from which (*copy*) he, and others for him, may know, and ascertain the rights, and other things appertaining to him in the said charge: for we have granted the favour to the said Don Christopher Columbus, of having and enjoying the graces, honours, pre-

rogatives, liberties, rights and salaries, in the admiralty of the Indies, which our said High Admiral of Castile has, holds and enjoys. And this do and fulfil as soon as you are required so to do by this our letter, without adducing excuse, or any delay whatsoever. And if you fail to do so, we command our governor, and the other magistrates of the city of Seville, to constrain and to force you to do and fulfil it. And do not, nor let them do otherwise, &c. Done in the city of Burgos, the 23d day of April, of the year 96.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen,
FERNANDO ALVARES.

The present is a copy of a writing written on paper, and signed and underwritten by a scrivener and notary public, as by it appeared. The tenor of which is as follows:

In the town of Valladolid, the court and chancery of our Lord the King being there, Tuesday, the fifth day of the month of July, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and thirty-five, before the auditors of our said Lord the King, sitting to make reports, in the palaces and houses of my Lord Don Gŕre of Toledo, Bishop of Valencia, auditor of the said chamber, in the

palace and accustomed place, where the aforesaid auditors continually are accustomed to hold, and where they hold public audiences, and make reports, in presence of us, John Nugnes de Leon and Peter Garcia de Madrigal, scriveners of our said Lord the King and of his chamber, and his public notaries in his court, and in all his kingdoms and dominions, and of the underwritten witnesses, appeared Gonzalo Fernandes de Medina, solicitor in the court of our said Lord the King, in the name and in the stead of the Admiral Don Fadrique, whose solicitor he declared himself to be, and presented before the said auditors, and caused to be read to us, and before us aforesaid scriveners, a paper of privilege of our said Lord the King, rolled up, written on parchment of skin, and signed with his name, and sealed with his seal of lead hanging by threads of silk; the tenor of which is as follows:

Don John, by the grace of God, King of Castile, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Seville, Cordova, Murcia, Algarve and Algesira, and Lord of Biscay and Molina: to all the prelates, masters of orders, dukes, counts, barons, and to the members of my council, and auditors of my chamber, and alcaldes, and notaries, justices and other officers of my court, and chancery, and of my house and bar, and *adelantados*, sheriffs, knights,

esquires, and to all counsellors, decurions, alcaldes, and bailiffs, corporals, adjutants, provosts and other justices, whosoever they may be, of the very noble city of Seville, and of all the other cities, and towns and places of my kingdom and dominions, and to the sea-captains, and to my superintendant of the fleet, and masters and boatswains of my gallies, and to the masters of the mariners and merchants, and to every other person navigating the seas or rivers, and to all other persons whoever they may be, of whatsoever state and condition, preeminence or dignity, to whom belong, or may belong, the things here under expressed, or to whom may be presented this my patent of privilege, or the copy of it legalized and signed by a public scrivener; and to each of you health and grace: know ye that I have seen a patent of privilege, folded up in the form of a roll, and sealed with my seal of lead suspended, which by my command was given to Don Alphonsus Enriques, my uncle, my high admiral of the sea, written on parchment of skin; of the following tenor:

In the name of God the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, who are three persons, and one only true God, who reigns for ever, and of the most blessed glorious Virgin Holy Mary his mother, whom I hold as lady

and patroness in all my works; and to the honour and service of the most blessed apostle St. James, the light and mirror of all the Spains, and the lord and guide of the Kings of Castile, my predecessors, and mine; and of all the saints of the whole celestial court. It is reasonable that all those, who serve kings with sincere disposition, undergoing severe trouble and distress, should receive considerable recompense as a comfort and consolation for their distresses: it likewise well becomes kings to recompense those, who serve them well, in order to perform what they ought, and also that it may be an example to those who may know or hear of it, so that they may serve with better disposition. In doing which the monarch must advert to three things: first, what may be the favour which he confers; then who the person may be upon whom it is conferred, and how he may have merited it; in the third place, what danger or mischief may arise from imparting it. Wherefore I, reflecting upon, and considering all these and other things, and the many and good services which you Don Alphonso Enriques, my uncle and my high prefect on sea, rendered to the King Don John of renowned memory, my ancestor, to whom may the Lord grant his holy paradise, and to the King Don Henry my father and lord, whom may God

pardon, and have rendered, and which you each day render to me, and the lineage from which you had your origin, and the duty that I owe to you, and who you are; and to reward you for it, I will that the present and future generations know by this my privilege, that I Don John, by the grace of God, King of Castile, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Seville, Cordova, Murcia, Jahen, Algarve, and Algesira, and Lord of Biscay and Molina, have seen a patent of the said Lord King Don Henry, my father and my lord, whom God have in his grace, written on paper, and signed with his name, and sealed on the back with his seal, drawn up in this manner.

Don Henry, by the grace of God, King of Castile, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Seville, Cordova, Murcia, Jahen, Algarve, and Algesira, and Lord of Biscay and Molina: to confer a favour and grace upon you Don Alphonso Enriques, my uncle, for the many loyal and special services which you rendered to the King Don John, my father and lord, whom may God pardon, and which you have rendered, and daily do render to me, and to recompense you for them, I make you my High Admiral of the Sea, and I will, and it is my pleasure, that you be henceforward my High Admiral of the Sea, in the same manner as Admiral Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, deceased, used to be,

and that you have the said Admiralty with all the revenues, rights, and jurisdiction, which belong to it, and ought to belong to it, in that best and most complete manner in which the said Don Diego Hurtado, and the other admirals who to the present moment have been appointed, enjoyed them. And by this my patent I command all prelates, and masters, counts, barons, knights, and esquires, and all counsellors, alcaldes and sheriffs, corporals, adjutants, prevosts, and other justices, whoever they may be, of our most noble city of Seville, and of all the other cities and towns, and places of our kingdoms and dominions, and all captains of the sea, and my superintendant of the fleet, and the masters and boatswains of my gallies, and the masters, mariners, and merchants, and every and whatsoever person, who may traverse and navigate the sea, and whomsoever they may be of them, to receive and obey you, the abovesaid Don Alphonso Enriques, as my High Admiral of the sea, in all things, and in each one of them, which belong to the said office of Admiral, and to pay, and cause to be paid to you, all the revenues and duties which by right of the said office belong to you, or ought to belong to you, well and completely, in such manner as not to be diminished in any thing, in that best and most complete way, in

which they were received by, subjected and paid to the said Admiral Don Diego Hurtado, and the other admirals that have been till now. And by this my patent I give to you all my power completely, in order that you may be able to exercise, and may exercise the civil and criminal jurisdiction, which belong to the said office of Admiralty, and ought to belong in whatsoever manner, in all the rights upon sea, both in granting letters of marque, and deciding upon all complaints that may happen upon sea, as also in the ports, and in all places where the salt-water enters, and vessels navigate; and that you the above-mentioned Admiral may have the authority of establishing, and may establish your judges, bailiffs, scriveners, and officers in all the cities and places of my kingdoms, that are sea-ports, in order that they may take cognizance of and decide upon all civil and criminal suits, that may happen upon sea, or in the rivers within which the flux and reflux of the sea take place, according as, and in the best and most complete manner my other former admirals established them, and you will establish them in the said city of Seville. And by this my patent I order those of my council, the auditors of chamber, the alcaldes of my court, and all the other tribunals of the said

cities and sea-port towns of my kingdoms, not to intermeddle in taking cognizance of, nor to decide upon the aforesaid causes, and not to disturb your jurisdiction either in your person, or in your said officers, whom you may appoint in your place, to take cognizance of the said causes in the manner above expressed. And, moreover, I order my high chancellor, notaries, scriveners, and other officers whoever they may be, who are in the commission of my seals, to give, expedite, and seal for you my patents of privilege in the strongest, most firm, and most efficient manner, and with the greatest validity, that may be necessary, according as they were given to the other admirals your predecessors, or to any one of them, who enjoyed them the most completely. And none of you do any thing against this, in any way whatsoever, under pain of my displeasure. Respecting which I ordain that this my patent be given, signed with my name, and sealed with my privy-seal. Given in the city of Toro, on the fourth day of the month of April, in the year of the nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and five.

I, John Nugnes, Chancellor of the King, have caused this to be written by his command.

I THE KING. Registered.

And now the abovesaid Don Alphonso Enriques, my uncle, and my High Admiral of the Sea, has supplicated me, through special grace, to confirm to him the said patent of the said King, my father and my lord, whom God pardon, and the favours contained in it; and to command that they should be maintained to him, and put into execution in all, and through all, according as is contained in the aforesaid patent, commanding that this my patent of privilege be given to him written on parchment of skin, and sealed with my seal of lead hanging to it, in order that he may the better and more completely be able to enjoy, and may enjoy the said office of Admiral, and the said favours contained in the said patent of the said King my father; and moreover that you may cause all the revenues and rights to be accounted to him, and that there should be maintained to him, and that he may enjoy all the jurisdiction, franchises, privileges, and liberties that belong to him, and ought to belong in whatsoever manner by right of the said Admiralty, according as in the best and most complete manner my other admirals his predecessors, and any one of them, enjoyed them, which in the said patent of the said Lord the King, my father and my lord, are contained. And I the abovesaid King, Don John, to confer a kindness and

favour upon the aforesaid Don Alphonso Enriques, my uncle, and my High Admiral of the Sea, was pleased therewith, and I confirm to him the said patent of the said King, my father, and the favours contained in it; and I command that they shall have force, and be preserved in all and through all, well and completely, according as is contained in the said patent. And by this my privilege, and by the copy of it signed by a public scrivener, drawn up under the authority of a judge, or of an alcalde, I command all prelates, masters, priors of orders, counts and rich men, knights and companions, chancellors, esquires, and those of my council, and the auditors of my chamber, alcaldes, and bailiffs of my court; and all the counsellors, alcaldes, bailiffs, corporals, adjutants, provosts, commandants of castles, of strong and open places, and other magistrates and officers and *apportellados* of any kind whatsoever of the most noble city of Seville, and of all the other cities, towns, and places of our kingdoms and dominions, and the sea-captains and masters, boatswains, bargemen, masters of ships and galleys, and my intendants of the fleet, and sailors and merchants, and all seafaring men, and men on rivers, and fishermen and boatmen who navigate the seas and rivers, and all others who go upon my fleet, and from it, in any manner what-

soever, or in vessels of any kind soever, that may go henceforward, of whatever state or condition they may be, that you may have, and they may have, that you receive, and they receive the said Alphonso Enriques, my uncle, as my High Admiral of the Sea in all the parts of my aforesaid kingdoms and dominions, that you concur with him in the said office of the above-mentioned Admiralty, and of the civil and criminal jurisdiction, and that you appear upon his citations . . . . and of those whom he may appoint in his stead, according as they acted, and you acted, in the best and most complete way, with the aforesaid admirals, who existed at the time of the Kings, from whom I descend, or with any one of them, and likewise in the said patent of the said King, my father and my lord, whom God hold in his glory; and that you account and cause to be accounted to him for all the revenues and rights, which appertain and ought to appertain in any manner whatsoever, and by any right soever, to the aforesaid office of Admiralty; and that also you obey him, and thus execute his commands, as of my High Admiral of the Sea, and as you would do for my own body, and for my royal person. And likewise it appears right to me, and I command that if any person or persons of the sea, or rivers, above-mentioned, should do any

thing on sea, in the river or without, for which it might be necessary to prosecute or punish him, or them, and if they were disobedient to the said Don Alphonso Enriques, my uncle, or to the officers appointed by him on sea, in the river, or upon land, that the said Admiral be empowered to execute, or command to be executed, and execute justice upon him and upon them, and inflict upon them, or command to be inflicted, on the spot, the punishment, or punishments, which they have deserved according to right. And it pleases me that all the gains that my said High Admiral may have, or may make upon the said fleet, or upon sea, that I have two parts of them, and the said Admiral the third part, he going in person upon the said fleet, although the said fleet, or part of it, should go away by his commands, or without his orders; and, moreover, that all the gallies, that shall be equipped by my orders to make gains; two parts of the gains that may be made shall be mine; and the third part shall belong to the said Admiral. I judge it right also, and command, that all gallies, ships, galleots, vessels, and other foists whatever they may be, that may be armed for other parts, of which I am to have a fifth part; of such fifth part I am to enjoy two parts, and the Admiral is to have the third. It pleases me likewise

that whenever my said Admiral fits out a vessel by my command, he may be able to take, and may take, four men accused of any crime, for which they are to be condemned to death, among the prisoners, that may be found, or may be brought into the said city of Seville, or in any other port of my kingdoms and dominions, on hire, or to be hired, that my said Admiral may charge upon him, or upon them, the third part for himself of the wages for which they are hired or may be hired. Moreover, it pleases me that my said Admiral have my said Admiralty . . . . . both civil and criminal jurisdiction, well and completely, in all the ports and places of all my kingdoms and dominions, that are sea-ports, like the said city of Seville, with all the powers and rights which belong, or ought to belong in any manner whatsoever, to the aforesaid office of the Admiralty. And, moreover, that he as well as those whom he may appoint in his stead, may have, may be able to exercise, and may exercise the said civil and criminal jurisdiction in whatsoever manner, in all the said sea-ports, and in the cities and respective places, as well in granting letters of marque, as in deciding upon all suits, which may happen in the said sea and in the rivers, as in the said ports and towns, and their respective places as far as the salt-water enters,

or vessels navigate; and that the said Admiral may appoint his alcaldes, bailiffs, scriveners, and officers in all the cities and places of my kingdoms and dominions, that are sea-ports, in order that they may take cognizance of and decide upon all criminal and civil suits, that may happen upon the sea, or in the rivers into which the flux and reflux penetrates, according as, and in that best and most complete manner in which the other Admirals, or any one of them, established them in the said city of Seville. And I command the above-mentioned of my council, the auditors of my chamber, the alcaldes of my said courts, and all other magistrates of the said towns and places of the said sea-ports of my abovesaid kingdoms, not to intermeddle in taking cognizance of, or in deciding upon the said suits, or in troubling, and let them not trouble my said Admiral, or his said officers whom he appoints in his place to take cognizance of the said suits in the manner above indicated, in the aforesaid civil and criminal jurisdiction, or in any part whatsoever of it. And I firmly prohibit any one, and let no one be so bold as to proceed, or exceed against the said patent of the said King, my father and my lord, whom God pardon, or against the favours, franchises, and liberties contained in that, and in this my privilege, or against any

part of them; now or henceforward to violate them, or diminish any, or any one of them. And whosoever, or whoever they may be, who act to the contrary, or against him, or without him proceed, or exceed, will incur my anger, and pay to me in punishment, for every time they proceed or exceed against him, two thousand pistoles of Castile, of pure gold, and of exact weight, and to my said High Admiral, or to whomsoever may have his procuration, the double of all the damages and losses, that he may undergo by it; and for him I shall proceed against their persons and properties. And I command the said magistrates and each one of you in your places and jurisdictions, that from the property of him, or of those who should proceed, or exceed, or endeavour to proceed or exceed, against it or against a part of it, you take as a punishment of what has been indicated, two thousand pistoles from every one for each time; and preserve them to be employed according to my pleasure. And moreover, that you compensate and cause to be compensated my said High Admiral, or whosoever may have his procuration, to double the amount of all the aforesaid losses and damages, which may accrue to him by the reason indicated, as has been said. And moreover, by whomsoever, or whosoever they may be, who neglect thus

to perform and to act, I command the person who shall present this my privilege, or a copy of it, signed as abovesaid, to cite you to appear before my presence, wherever I may be, you aforesaid counsellors, through the medium of your procurators, and bailiffs, and one or two of the officers of every city or town, where it may happen, personally, with the procuration of the other officers your companions within the following fifteen days after the day of citation, under the penalty above expressed, to show cause for what reason you did not execute my command. And I command, under the said penalty, every public scrivener whatsoever, applied to for such purpose, to give to him, who may show it, a certificate signed with his signet, in order that he may know how my order is to be fulfilled. And I command upon this that there be given to the said Don Alphonso Enriques, my uncle, and my High Admiral of the Sea, this my privilege written on parchment of skin folded up in the form of a roll, and sealed with my seal of lead attached to it with threads of silk. Given in the town of Valladolid, on the seventeenth day of August, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and sixteen. I the abovesaid King, Don John, reigning, together with the Queen Donna Catherina, my Mother

and Lady, and my Guardian, Regent of my kingdoms, and with the Infanta, my Sister, in Castile, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Seville, Cordova, Murcia, Jahen, Baeza, Badajos, Algarve, Algesira, Biscay, and Molina,—grant this privilege and confirm it.

The Infant Don John, cousin of our said Lord the King, and his High Steward, confirms it.

Don Henry, his brother, cousin of our said Lord the King, Master of Saint Jago, confirms it.

The Infant Don Peter, his brother, cousin of our said Lord the King, confirms it.

Don Lewis de Gusman, Master of the order of the Knights of Calatrava, confirms it.

Don Peter, Lord of Monte Alegre, Vassal of the King, confirms it.

Don Lewis de la Cerda, Count of Medinaceli, Vassal of the King, confirms it.

Don Paul, Bishop of Burgos, High Chancellor of the King, confirms it.

Don Lope de Mendoza, Archbishop of Saint Jago, confirms it.

Don John, Bishop of Segovia, confirms it.

Don Diego, Bishop of Cuenza, confirms it.

Don Gonzalo de Zuniga, Bishop of Placencia, confirms it.

Don Diego Gomes de Sandoval, High Prefect of Murcia, confirms it.

Don John Ramires de Arellano, Lord of Los Cameros, Vassal of the King, confirms it.

Don Garcia Fernandes Manriques, Lord of Aguilar, Vassal of the King, confirms it.

Ignatius Lopes de Mendoza, Lord de la Vega, Vassal of the King, confirms it.

I, John Fr̃rns de Placencia, Scrivener of our said Lord the King, have caused it to be written by his command, in the tenth year of the reign of our said Lord the King.

Fernandus, *Bachalaureus in Legibus*, Alfonso,

Registered.

And now the said Don Alphonso Enriques, High Admiral of the Sea, has requested of me as a favour, to confirm to him the said privilege of favour herein contained, and to command that it be preserved to him in all points, well and completely, according to what is contained in it. And I, the above-mentioned King Don John, to confer a favour and grace upon the said Don Alphonso Enriques, my uncle and my High Admiral of the Sea; and having respect to the merit he enjoys with me for the many, good, and special services, which he rendered to the King Don John my grandfather, and to the King Don Henry my father and my lord, whom God keep in his grace, and which he renders to me every day, I have resolved to comply with

his request. And therefore, of my own accord, and certain knowledge, it is my will and pleasure to confirm, and I do confirm to him the said privilege, and all the favours contained in it; and now I give it to him afresh, in the whole, according to, and in the manner as is contained in the said privilege, and that he may be able to exercise, and may exercise the said office of Admiralty with all the justice and jurisdiction, high and low, civil and criminal, pure and mixed dominion, and with all the other things, and each one of them contained in the said patent of privilege hereto annexed above. And he may avail himself of it, and of every thing in it, and those whom he shall appoint in his place, as well in my court and chancery, house, and precincts, as without. And he may be able to perform, and may perform, and those whom he shall appoint in his stead, all the other things, and each one of them, contained in the above referred patents of privilege. Which I now give and grant, with free and sound judgment, power and perfect authority, according as I possess it. And I firmly forbid, by this my patent of privilege, or by a copy of it signed by a public scrivener, extracted under the authority of a judge or of an alcalde, that from now henceforth, no person or persons be so bold as to proceed or exceed against the said privi-

lege, or against any part of it, in order to violate it, or diminish it in any thing that is contained in it; that whosoever, or whatsoever they may be that do so, or proceed or exceed against it or part of it, will incur my anger, and moreover pay to me the penalties contained in the aforesaid patent of privilege above related; and to the said Don Alphonso Enriques, my uncle and my High Admiral, or to him who may have the mandate for it, all the damages and losses he may experience from it. And the same is to pay ten thousand maravedis to the chamber of the abovesaid Don Alphonso Enriques, my uncle and my Admiral; to which said penalty of ten thousand maravedis, I declare, and it is my pleasure, and will, shall be subjected by the very fact itself, whoever acts, or attempts to act against the contents of this my patent, or against any thing, or part of it; because I confer the grant of it upon the aforesaid Don Alphonso Enriques, my uncle and my High Admiral, or to whomsoever he shall chuse, and judge fit. And in respect to that I command all the aforesaid prelates, masters of the orders, knights and companions, dukes, counts, barons, and those of my council, auditors of my chamber, alcaldes, notaries, bailiffs, magistrates, and other officers of my court and chancery, and of my house and precincts, my

prefects, chief corporals, knights, esquires, and all my counsellors, governors, alcaldes, bailiffs, corporals, adjutants, provosts, and other justices, and officers of every kind of the most noble city of Seville, and of all the cities, towns and places of my kingdoms and dominions, sea-captains and my intendant of the fleet, masters and boatswains of my gallies; and masters, mariners, merchants, and every other person traversing or navigating the sea, and all other persons of whatever state, condition, pre-eminence or dignity, who shall see this my patent of privilege, or the copy of it, as has been said, to observe, execute, and cause to be observed and executed in favour of the said Don Alphonso Enriques, my uncle, and my High Admiral of the Sea, or of whomsoever may act for him, the abovesaid privilege, and all the favours contained in it, well in all points, and completely, according to, and in the manner contained in it; and not to proceed nor exceed, and not to allow others to proceed or exceed against it, or any part of it, in no time and on no account, under the penalty of my displeasure, and under the penalty contained in the patent of privilege already inserted above, against each one thus neglecting to act and proceed. And I command the high chancellor of my privy seal, and those of my council, and the auditors of my

chamber, the alcaldes, messengers, and chief treasurers, my officers and scriveners, who are employed in the office of my seals, that if with respect to all the things above-mentioned, or to whosoever, or whatsoever they may be, my said admiral, or those acting in his stead, demand of them any whatsoever of my patents and privileges, folded up under the form of a roll, or any others that may be, they be given, remitted, expedited, and sealed in the strongest, most available and complete form that is possible, or that shall be necessary, respecting all that has been said, and for each one thing and part of it, and for its execution; and act not, nor let them act against the tenor of this privilege, under the said penalty; and moreover, whosoever, or whatsoever of you or of them faileth in performing or executing this, I command the man who shall show you this my patent of privilege, or the copy of it, signed as has been said, to cite you to appear before my presence in my court, that is, counsellors through the medium of your solicitors, officers and other individual persons, personally, within the first fifteen following days after the day of citation, each one to declare the reason, why you did not execute my command; and every public scrivener whatsoever, who may be required to write, to give to the man who shall show it to

you, a certificate signed with his signet; in order that I may know how my command is executed. Wherefore I order the patent and present privilege written on parchment of skin, signed with my name, folded up in the form of a roll, and sealed with my seal of lead suspended with threads of silk, to be given to the said admiral my uncle. Given in the city of Segovia, on the sixth day of June, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and nineteen.

I THE KING.

I the abovesaid King, Don John, reigning, together with the Queen Donna Maria my spouse, and with the Infanta Donna Catherina my sister, in Castile, Leon, Galicia, Toledo, Seville, Cordova, Murcia, Jahen, Baeza, Badajos, Algarve, Algesira, Biscay and Molina, grant and confirm this privilege. The Infant Don John, cousin of our said Lord the King, Infant of Arragon, Master of St. Jago, confirms it. The Infant Don Peter, cousin of our said Lord the King, confirms it. Don Alphonso Enriques, uncle of the King, High Admiral of the Sea, confirms it. Don Ruy Lopes de Avalos, Constable of Castile, Chief Prefect of Murcia, confirms it. Don Lewis de Gusman, Master of the Order of the Knights of Calatrava, confirms

it. Don Lewis de la Cerda, Count of Medinaceli, Vassal of the King, confirms it. Don Peter, Lord of Monte Alegre, Vassal of the King, confirms it. Don Lope de Mendoza, Archbishop of Saint Jago, Head Chaplain, confirms it. Don Rodrigo de Velasco, Bishop of Placencia, confirms it. Don Alphonsus, Bishop of Siguenza, confirms it. Don John, Bishop of Segovia, confirms it. Don John, Bishop of Avila, confirms it. Don Alvaro, Bishop of Cuenza, confirms it. Don Fernando, Bishop of Cordova, confirms it. Don Gŕre Gomes, Administrator of the Church of Palenzia, High Chancellor of the Queen of Castile, confirms it. Don Rodrigo, Bishop of Jahen, confirms it. And I, John Fernandes de Guadalajara caused it to be written out by the command of the King our Lord. Fernandus, Bachalaureus in Legibus. Registered. Which said patent of privilege of the said Lord the King, presented and read in the manner that has been related, the said Gonzalo Fernandes, in the name of the aforesaid Lord Admiral, declared to the abovesaid auditors, that the said Lord Admiral intending, and being obliged, to dispatch the said patent of privilege, and present it in some places where it was necessary for the service of the said Lord the King, and for the common welfare of his kingdoms and dominions, and of his subjects

and natives of them, and for the care and conservation of the said Admiralty, and of the said Admiral; and that it was feared the said patent of privilege might be lost or damaged, as well by theft as by fire or water, or by other cause, fortuitous chance, or by any other danger that might happen, whence would arise disservice to the said Lord the King, and an increaséd detriment to the said Lord Admiral; wherefore he declared that he did demand, and demanded from the said auditors in the most perfect manner and form that could be, and was due by right, that, in right of their office, they should order and permit us the abovesaid scriveners, John Nugnes and Peter Garcia, both of us unitedly as public persons, to draw out, and cause to be drawn out, from the said patent and original privilege of the said Lord the King, one, two, or more copies, as many as might be agreeable, or might be necessary, to the said Lord Admiral Don Fadrique, and deliver them to him signed by each one of us unitedly, so as to authenticate, collated with the said original patent of privilege; and that such copy or copies of the said patent of privilege of the said Lord the King, thus signed with our signets, be given by us to the said Lord Admiral, or to whomsoever for him ought to receive it. And in order that they might be more firm and

valid, he requested the said auditors to give and interpose in that, and for that, their decree and authority, that such copy or copies, which we aforesaid scriveners might give of it, signed as has been said, might avail and authenticate, wherever they might be presented, in a court of justice and without, as the said original patent of privilege, hereinabove contained, would avail and authenticate, on its being presented. And immediately the said auditors, having considered the said petition, had the said original patent of privilege brought to them, and read, considered and examined it; and having at present found it neither torn, broken, cancelled, nor interpolated, nor in any other part doubtful, or such as could excite any suspicion, but, on the contrary, free from every defect; therefore, having considered all these things, they declared that they did ordain, and ordained, and gave licence to us aforesaid, John Nugnes de Leon and Peter Garcia de Madrigal, public scriveners, that both of us unitedly, as public persons, should draw out, and cause to be drawn out, from the said original patent of privilege of the said Lord the King, one, two, or more copies, as many as might suit, or be necessary for, the aforesaid Lord Admiral, and to give them to him, signed with our signets, collated with the said original patent of privilege,

so as to authenticate; and in favour of the copy or copies which we might give of it to the said Lord Admiral, as is said, the abovesaid auditors declared that they did interpose, and interposed their authority and decree, thus and inasmuch, and in the best manner and form, as they could and ought in right, in order that such copy or copies which we should thus give of it, signed by us, should avail and authenticate, wherever they might be presented, in a court of justice and without, thus, and in such manner, and as completely, as the said original patent of privilege of the said Lord the King would avail and authenticate, should it be presented. Witnesses who were present at all the things afore-expressed: the licentiate John Lopes de Miranda, and the bachelors . . . . . alcaldes of the gentry; and Lewis Rodrigues, and Fernando Mancheos, and Alphonso Lopes de Seville, and Lewis G°s de Cordova, scriveners of our said Lord the King. And . . . . . afterwards the said Gonzalo Fernandes, in the name of the said Lord Admiral, demanded of us, the aforesaid scriveners, to give to him this copy of the said original patent of privilege of the said Lord the King, with the announced authority and decree, for the security and conservation of the said Admiral, and of the causes above-mentioned; which was done and deli-

vered before the above-written witnesses on the day, month and year abovesaid. And we, John Nugnes de Leon and Peter Garcia de Madrigal, abovesaid, scriveners, in compliance with the said licence, and with the order issued to us, and given by the said auditors who interposed the said authority and decree, have caused to be written and extracted, and we extract, this copy of the said original patent of privilege of our said Lord the King, both of us unitedly, and have collated it word for word with the said original patent of privilege, in the presence of the witnesses here underwritten, who were present at the said collation, and saw and heard the said copy read and collated with the aforesaid original patent of privilege; which witnesses, who were present and summoned to the said collation, are those that follow: Francisco Nugnes de Villa Anpando, scrivener of the said chamber, and Andrew de Valladolid and Fernando de Medina, son of John de Medina, clerks of the said John Nugnes de Leon.

And I, the abovesaid John de Leon, scrivener and notary public aforesaid, to all that has been said till now, was present with the said Peter Garcia de Madrigal, scrivener, before the said auditors, together with the said witnesses, who were present there, and by the said command and licence of the said auditors, together with

the said Peter Garcia, scrivener, have caused to be written and extracted this copy of the said patent of privilege of our said Lord the King, by the authority abovesaid, on three sheets and a half of parchment of skin, besides this, in which there must be my signature, and at the bottom of every page I have placed my name; and I have collated this copy with the said original patent of privilege of our said Lord the King, conjointly with the said Peter Garcia, scrivener, in presence of the witnesses mentioned in this writing, who were present at the said collation. And therefore, in testimony of the truth, I have inserted here my signature, which is: *John Nugnes.* And I the abovesaid Peter Garcia de Madrigal, scrivener and notary public aforesaid, was present at all that is written above, with the afore-named John Nugnes de Leon, scrivener, before the said auditors, conjointly with the said witnesses, who were there present, and in virtue of the said command and licence of the said auditors, together with the said John Nugnes, scrivener, have caused to be written and extracted this copy of the said patent of privilege of our said Lord the King, with the said authority, on these three sheets and a half of parchment of skin, besides this piece, in which there must be my signature, and at the bottom of each page

I have placed my name; and I have collated this copy with the abovesaid original patent of privilege of our said Lord the King, conjointly with the said John Nugnes, scrivener, in presence of the witnesses registered in this writing, who were present at the said collation; and this copy was collated with the said original writing, from whence it was extracted before the witnesses who had been present: on Friday, the thirteenth of the month of November, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and eighty-nine. Witnesses who were present at the reading and collation of the abovesaid copy extracted from the said writing: Alphonsus de Valle and Diego de Mesa, alcaldes; and Nugno de Mendoza, Fernando de Esquivel and John de Montanos, scriveners of the King our Lord, and others.

And I, Gonzalo Garcia de Villa, mayor, scrivener of our Lord the King, and his notary public in his court, and in all his kingdoms and dominions, was present, together with the said witnesses, to collate the said copy with the said writing, from which it was drawn, which I have caused to be written: in testimony of which I have made my signature in this place.

GONZALO GARCIA, *Scrivener of the King.*

DOCUMENT II.

In the name of the Holy Trinity and eternal Unity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, three persons really distinct in one divine essence, which lives and reigns for ever, without end; and of the blessed and glorious Virgin Holy Mary our Lady, His Mother, whom we hold as our Lady and Advocate in all our works; and to the honour and reverence of Her, and of the blessed Apostle St. James, the light and mirror of Spain, the protector and guide of the Kings of Castile and of Leon; and likewise to the honour and reverence of all the other Saints of the Celestial Court. As man, whatever knowledge he may have of the world, cannot perfectly know, according to nature, what God is, he may know Him by seeing and contemplating His wonderful works, and the deeds which He performed, and performs daily; for all things are made by His power, governed by His wisdom, and preserved by His goodness; and thus man may understand that God is the beginning, middle and end of all things, and that all is centered in Him; and that He preserves every thing in the state in which He placed it; and that all things stand in need of

Him, and He of nothing; and He can command them whenever He pleases, according to His will; and no mutation or change whatsoever can happen to Him: He is called King above all Kings, because from Him they receive their name, and they reign through Him, and He governs and preserves them; each of whom, in his own kingdom, is the vicar placed by God over the people to maintain them in justice and in virtue, temporally. All this is fully demonstrated in two ways: one spiritual, as demonstrated by the prophets and saints, upon whom our Saviour conferred the grace of knowing all things infallibly, and making them to be understood; the other natural, as wise men demonstrated it, who understood things from nature. Wherefore the saints declared that Kings were established upon earth in the place of God, to exercise justice and give to every one his right: on that account they called them the heart and soul of the people; for as the soul resides in the heart of man, and the body lives and is maintained by it, so justice resides in the King, who is the life and preservation of the people of his dominions; and as there is but one heart, through which all the other members receive unity, and form one body, in like manner all persons in the kingdom, although numerous, are but one, because the King must be, and is,

one, and through him all have to be one with him, to follow and assist him in the things he has to perform. Then the philosophers naturally declared, that Kings are the head of the kingdom; for, as the sentiments, by which all the members of the body are directed, spring from the head, in like manner, by the orders which proceed from the King, who is Lord and Head of all persons of his kingdom, they must be ordained and governed, and him it behoves them to obey. And so great is the power of Kings, that all laws and rights are held under their power; deriving this not from men, but from God, whose place they supply in temporal affairs. Among other things, it is the particular duty of the King to love, honour and defend his people; and among them he ought expressly to shew respect, and honour, to those who merit it by the services which they may have rendered to him: and therefore the King or the Prince, among the other powers which he possesses, not only can, but ought to confer favours upon those, who deserve them, by having rendered a service to him, or for the good qualities they may possess. And as among the other virtues peculiar to Kings, according to the saying of philosophers, justice is that which is the support and truth of things, by which the world is better and more directly

governed; and is likewise, as it were, a fountain from which all rights flow; and is always maintained in the minds of just men, and never fails; it gives and distributes his right equally to all; it comprehends in itself all the principal virtues; great utility springs from it, since it causes every one to live prudently and peaceably according to his condition, without fault and without error; the good through it become better, receiving a reward for the good actions they perform; and the others are directed and amended. Which justice contains in itself two principal parts; the one is commutative between man and man; the other distributive, in which consist the rewards and remunerations for the good and virtuous actions and services which men render to Kings and Princes, or to the public weal of their kingdoms. And therefore, according to the dictum of the laws, the conferring of reward on those who serve well and faithfully, is what much becomes all men, and more especially Kings, Princes and great Lords, who have the power of doing it; and it is their peculiar duty to honour and elevate those who serve them well and faithfully, and whose virtues and services deserve it. In rewarding good actions, Kings who do so, shew themselves to be discerners of virtue, and also to be just, because justice does not consist

alone in the exemplary punishment of the wicked, but also in rewarding the good. And moreover another very great utility springs from it, because it gives a stimulus to the good to become more virtuous, and to the wicked to amend themselves. And as among the other rewards and remunerations, which Kings can confer upon those who serve them well and faithfully, they possess that of honouring and elevating them among the others of their race; and ennobling, decorating and honouring them; and conferring upon them many other kindnesses, graces and favours; therefore, considering and reflecting upon all that has been said above, it is our pleasure that by this letter of privilege, or by a copy of it signed by a public scrivener, all who are now living, and henceforward live, be made to know that We, Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Arragon, Sicily, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jahen, the Algarves, Algesira, Gibraltar and the Canary Islands, Count and Countess of Barcelona, Lords of Biscay and Molina, Dukes of Athens and Neopatria, Counts of Roussillon and Cerdan, Marquises of Oristan and Goziano, have seen certain covenants signed with our names, and sealed with our seal, as follow:

THE things prayed for, and which your Highnesses give and grant to Don Christopher Columbus, to reward him in some manner for what he has discovered in the ocean, and for the voyage which now, with the assistance of God, he is about to undertake to those parts for the service of your Highnesses, are the following:

First, that your Highnesses, as lords of the said ocean, may appoint from this moment the said Don Christopher Columbus, to be your admiral in all the islands and continents, which through his labour and industry shall be discovered, or acquired in the said ocean, during his natural life; and after his death, his heirs and successors one after the other perpetually, with all the pre-eminences and prerogatives, which belong to the said office, in the same manner as Don Alphonso Enriques, your High Admiral of Castile, and the other predecessors in the said office enjoyed them in their own districts.

It so pleases their Highnesses.

JOHN DE COLOMA.

In like manner, that your Highnesses may appoint the said Don Christopher Columbus to be your viceroy and governor-general over all the said islands and continents, which he, as has been said, shall discover, or shall acquire

in the aforesaid seas; and that for the government of each one, and any of them, he may make choice of three persons for every office; of whom your Highnesses shall take and elect one, who shall be most agreeable to you; and thus the lands, which our Lord will permit us to discover and acquire for the service of your Highnesses, will be better governed.

It so pleases their Highnesses.

JOHN DE COLOMA.

Item, that of all and whatsoever merchandize, whether pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, drugs, and other things and merchandize whatsoever, of whatever kind, name, and manner, that shall be bought, exchanged, found, and gained, or shall be within the limits of the said admiralty, your Highnesses from this moment grant to the said Don Christopher, and will that he have and take for himself the tenth part of them, all expenses deducted that may have been incurred by it, so that of what shall remain free and net, he may have and take for himself the tenth part, and dispose of it according to his pleasure, giving the other nine parts to your Highnesses.

It so pleases their Highnesses.

JOHN DE COLOMA.

In like manner, that if on account of the merchandize which shall be transported into the aforesaid islands, and lands, which shall be acquired, or discovered, as has been said, or which by other merchants during this time may be transported from those parts to ours, there should arise any dispute in the place where the said traffic is held and made, he requests your Highnesses, that if by the pre-eminence of his office of admiral, the cognizance of such cause should belong to him, he or his substitute, and no other judge, may take cognizance of such causes; and thus may decide from henceforward.

It so pleases their Highnesses, if it belongs to the said office of admiral, according as Admiral Don Alphonso Enriques, and his other predecessors enjoyed it in their districts, it being just. JOHN DE COLOMA.

Item, that in all the vessels that shall be equipped for the said traffic and trade, always, when, and whatever time they are equipped, the said Don Christopher Columbus may, if he chuses, contribute and pay the eighth part of all that is spent in equipping them; and that he may take likewise the eighth part of the profits, that may result from such equipment.

It so pleases their Highnesses.

JOHN DE COLOMA.

They are granted, and expedited with the answers of their Highnesses, at the end of each article. In the town of Santa Fè, in the plain of Granada, the seventeenth day of April, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety-two.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

JOHN DE COLOMA.

Registered. Talçeña.

Now, whereas you the abovesaid Don Christopher Columbus, our admiral of the ocean, and our viceroy and governor of the continent and islands, have supplicated, and requested us as a favour, that, in order the better and more completely to preserve the said patent of favour for yourself, your children, and descendants, we should confirm and approve it to you, and command the patent of favour to be delivered to you, such being our pleasure; We, reflecting upon the said things, and upon the many, good, great, faithful, and continual services, which you the abovesaid Don Christopher Columbus, our admiral, viceroy and governor of the islands, and continent discovered, and to be discovered, in the ocean in the parts of the Indies, have performed for Us, and we hope you will perform, especially in discovering, and

reducing under our power and dominion the said islands and continent, especially as we hope, with the assistance of God our Lord, that it will redound much to His service, and our honour, and to the welfare and advantage of our kingdoms and dominions; and farther we trust that, with the assistance of God, the Indian inhabitants of the said islands will be converted to our holy catholic faith, it has appeared to Us meet and proper; and by this our patent of privilege, by a copy of it, signed as has been said, of our own proper motion, and certain knowledge, and royal absolute power, of which in this respect we will make use, and do make use, we ratify and confirm from henceforward, and for ever, to you the abovesaid Don Christopher Columbus, and to your said children, grandchildren and descendants from you, and from them, and to your heirs, our abovesaid patent incorporated above, and the favour contained in it. And we will, and command, and it is our will and pleasure, that it may avail you, and be preserved to you, to your children, and descendants, now, and henceforward, inviolably for the present, and for ever, in all and through all, well and completely, according, and in the form and manner contained in it; and if it is necessary, we now again confer upon you the said favour. And we firmly forbid all and every

person presuming to act and proceed against it, or any part of it, or to violate or diminish it in any time or manner whatsoever. Respecting this we command the Prince Don John, our most dearly beloved son, and the Infants, dukes, prelates, marquises, counts, barons, masters of orders, priors, commendatories and companions, and those of our council, auditors of our chamber, alcaldes, bailiffs, and other ministers of justice, whoever they may be, of our palace, court, and chancery, and alcaldes of castles, and of strong and open places, and all counsellors, assistants, governors, alcaldes, bailiffs, adjutants, provosts, and other magistrates of all the cities, towns and places of our kingdoms and dominions, and each one of them, to preserve to you, and cause to be preserved, this our patent of privilege and confirmation, and the patent of favour contained in it, and not to proceed nor exceed against the tenor and form of it, nor permit others to proceed or exceed in any time or in any manner whatsoever, under the penalties contained in it. In respect of which we ordain that this our patent of privilege and confirmation be issued, written on parchment of skin, and signed with our names, and sealed with our seal of lead, hanging by threads of coloured silk. Which we command our chancellor, high steward, notary, and other officers

employed in the office of our seals, to seal, deliver, and give currency to all that is expressed in the aforesaid conventions incorporated here above, and contained in this our confirmation. We will, and it is our will and pleasure, that it be observed and executed, according to the contents; and that none of you act, or let act otherwise in any manner under the penalty of our displeasure, and of ten thousand mrs to our chamber to be imposed upon any one acting contrarywise: and, moreover, we command the person who shall show this our patent, to cite you to appear before our presence in our court, wherever we may be, within the next following fifteen days after the day of citation, under the said penalty. Under which we command every public scrivener whatsoever, who may be called upon for that effect, to deliver to the person, who shall present it to him, a writing signed with his signature, in order that We may know how our command is fulfilled. Given in the city of Burgos, the twenty-third day of the month of April, in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Don Fernand Alvares de Toledo, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords,

have caused this to be written by their order. Antonius Doctor. R. g. da. Doctor. Rodericus Doctor. Antonius .Doctor. Fernando Alvares, John Valesques. And on the back of the said patent of privilege there was written: without Chancery and without fees, by command of their Highnesses.

DOCUMENT III.

In the name of the Holy Trinity and eternal Unity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons really distinct, and one divine essence, who lives and reigns for ever without end; and of the most Blessed Virgin, glorious Holy Mary our Lady, His Mother, whom we hold as Lady and Advocate in all our undertakings; and to the honour and reverence of Her, and of the most Blessed Apostle St. James, light and mirror of the Spains, patron and guide of the Kings of Castile and of Leon; and likewise to the honour and reverence of all the other Saints of the Celestial Court: as man, by whatever knowledge he may have of the world, cannot, according to nature, completely know what God is, but may know Him by seeing and contemplating His wonders, and the works and

deeds which He performed, and performs every day; because all the works are the effect of His power, and are governed by His wisdom, and maintained by His goodness; and so man may understand that God is the beginning, middle, and end of all things; and that they are included in Him, and He maintains each one in that state in which he placed it in the order (of the world), and all stand in need of Him, and He of none, and He can change them whenever it may be agreeable to His will; and He cannot be subjected to change, nor be changed in any thing; and he is called the King of Kings, because from Him they derive their name, and reign through Him, and He governs and preserves them, who are vicars (each one in his own kingdom) placed by Him over the people to maintain them temporally in justice and in truth: which is fully demonstrated in two ways; the one spiritual, according as the prophets and saints demonstrated, upon whom our Lord conferred the grace of understanding those things certainly, and make them be understood by others: the other natural, as the philosophers demonstrated, who understood those things naturally: for the saints declared, that the King is established upon earth in the place of God to render justice, and give to every one his right; and on this account they called him

the heart and soul of the people; and as the soul resides in the heart of man, and the body lives and is preserved by it; so justice is established in the King, which is the life and preservation of the people of his dominions. And as the heart is one, and through it all the other members receive unity, so as to form one body, in like manner all the inhabitants of the kingdom, although many, are one; because the King must be, and is one, and through him all have to be one with him, to follow and assist him in the things he has to perform. Then philosophers naturally declared that Kings are the head of the kingdom; for in the same manner as sentiments spring from the head, which command all the other members of the body, in like manner by the command which emanates from the King, lord and head of all, the inhabitants of the kingdom must be directed and governed, and they have to obey him. And so great is the right of kingly power, that all the laws and rights are in the power of Kings, who acknowledge it not from men, but from God, whose place they hold in temporal affairs. Among other things it especially behoves the King to love, honour, and preserve his people; and among these he must particularly distinguish and honour persons meritorious either by services rendered to him, or on account of their

being endowed with goodness. And as, according to the saying of the wise, justice is one of the virtues peculiar to Kings, which is the support and truth of things; by which the world is better and more justly preserved: being likewise a fountain, from whence every right is derived, and remains always alive in the mind of just men; and never fails giving and distributing to each one equally his right; and embracing in itself all the principal virtues, and very great utility arises from it; because it engages every person to live with prudence and in peace, according to his state, without fault and without error; the good becoming through it better, by receiving a reward for their deeds rightly performed; and the others correcting themselves, and entering through it into the right road. Of which justice there are two principal parts; the one is commutative between man and man; the other is distributive; which carries with it the rewards and recompenses of the good and virtuous labours and services, which individuals render to Kings and Princes, and to the commonweal of their kingdoms. And as the conferring a reward upon those who serve well and faithfully is an attribute, as the laws say, very becoming to all mankind, and more especially to Kings, Princes, and great lords, who have the power of doing

it, and whose proper office it is to honour and elevate those who serve them well and faithfully, and who are worthy of it on account of their virtues and services; and Kings, in conferring rewards upon worthy actions, show by that their acknowledgment of virtue and love of justice, for justice consists not only in giving an example of punishment as a terror to the wicked, but likewise in recompensing the good; and besides this a signal advantage arises from it, because it excites the good to become better, and the wicked to correct themselves; and by not acting thus, the contrary might take place; and since among other rewards and remunerations which Kings have it in their power to bestow upon them truly and faithfully, there is that of honouring and elevating them above all the others of their race, and ennobling, decorating, and honouring them, and conferring many other kindnesses, favours, and graces upon them;

We, considering and reflecting upon the abovesaid things, will, that, by this our patent of privilege, and by a copy of it signed by a public scrivener, present and future generations may know, that We, Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Arragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville,

Sardinia, Corsica, Murcia, Jahen, Algarve, Algesira, Gibraltar, and the Canary Islands, Count and Countess of Barcelona, Lords of Biscay and Molina, Dukes of Athens and Neopatria, Counts of Roussillon and Cerdan, Marquises of Orestan and Goziano, have seen a patent of grace signed with our names, and sealed with our seal, drawn up as follows.

Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Arragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jahen, Algarve, Algesira, Gibraltar, and the Canary Islands, Count and Countess of Barcelona, Lords of Biscay and Molina, Dukes of Athens and Neopatria, Counts of Roussillon and Cerdan, Marquises of Orestan and Goziano: In as much as you, Christopher Columbus, are going by our command to discover and conquer, with some of our vessels and our subjects, certain islands and main-land in the ocean, and as it is hoped, with the assistance of God, that some of the aforesaid islands and main-land in the said ocean will be discovered and conquered through your labour and industry; and it being just and reasonable that for exposing yourself to such danger for our service, you should be rewarded; We, desiring on

that account to do you honour and favour, declare it to be our will and pleasure, that you, the abovesaid Christopher Columbus, when you shall have discovered and conquered the said islands and main-land in the said ocean, or any one whatsoever of them, be our Admiral of the said islands and main-land, which you shall thus discover and conquer, and be our Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor of them; and that you may from this time forward, style and entitle yourself Don Christopher Columbus; and likewise your children and successors in the said office and charge, may entitle and call themselves Don, Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor of them; and that you may use and exercise the said office of Admiral, with the aforesaid office of Viceroy and Governor of the abovesaid islands and main-land, which you discover and conquer, as well by yourself, as by means of your lieutenants, and hear and determine all suits, and civil and criminal causes respecting the said office of Admiral, and of Viceroy and Governor, according as you will find by right, and in the manner in which the Admirals of our kingdoms were accustomed to use and exercise it; and that you may punish and chastise delinquents; and use the said offices of Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor, you and your abovesaid lieutenants, in all that concerns

and is annexed to the said offices, and to each one of them; and that you may have and receive the rights and fees belonging and annexed to the said offices, and to each of them; according as our high admiral in the admiralty of our kingdoms receives, and is accustomed to receive them. And by this our patent, or by a copy of it, signed by a public scrivener, we command the Prince Don John, our most dearly beloved son, the Infants, dukes, prelates, marquises, counts, masters of orders, priors, companions, and those of our council; and the auditors of our chamber, alcaldes, and other officers of justice, whoever they may be, of our household, court, and chancery, and the governors of castles and strong and open places; and all counsellors, assistants, corregidors, alcaldes, bailiffs and sheriffs, and the twenty-four sworn chancellors, esquires, officers, and good men of all the cities, towns and places of our kingdoms and dominions, and of those which you shall conquer and acquire, and the captains, masters, mates and officers, mariners and seamen, our subjects and natives, who now are and shall be hereafter, and every one, and whomsoever of them, that the said islands and main-land in the ocean, being discovered and acquired by you, and they being taken, and the solemnities that are required on such occasions having

been observed by you, or by the person who shall receive the power for you, to have and to hold to you hereafter during all your life, and after you your son and successor, and from successor to successor for ever, as our admiral of the said ocean, and as viceroy and governor of the aforesaid islands and main-land, which you the abovesaid Don Christopher Columbus shall discover and acquire: and to treat of whatever regards such things with you, and with your abovesaid lieutenants, whom you shall place in the said offices of admiral, viceroy and governor, and to exact and cause to be exacted for you, with quittance, the fees and other things annexed and belonging to the said offices; and to observe, and cause to be observed towards you, all the honours, graces, favours, liberties, pre-eminences, prerogatives, exemptions and immunities, and all and every other thing, which by right of the said offices of admiral, viceroy and governor, you are to have and enjoy, and which are to be maintained to you in all, well and completely, in such manner as not to be diminished in any thing, and not to place, nor permit to be placed any sequestration upon, nor offer any opposition to them: because We, with this our patent, now and for ever, make a grant to you of the said offices of admiral, viceroy and governor, by right of in-

heritance for ever; and we give you possession, as if you were in possession of them, and of every one of them, and the power and authority to use and exercise them; and to take the fees and salaries annexed and belonging to them, and every one of them, according as has been said. And for as much as has been said, if it were necessary, and if you should demand it, we order our chancellor, notaries, and other officers, who are employed in the office of our seals, to give, expedite and seal for you, our patent of privilege, folded up in the form of a roll; in the strongest, most firm, and fit manner, that you may demand of them, and be necessary for you; and none of you act, nor let act otherwise in any manner, under the penalty of our displeasure, and of ten thousand maravedis for our chamber, upon any pretence whatsoever. And moreover we enjoin the individual, who presents to you this our patent, to cite you to appear before our presence in our court, wherever we may be, within the fifteen next following days from the day of the citation, under the aforesaid penalty: under which we command every public scrivener whatsoever, who for this purpose shall be called upon, to give to him who shall have presented this patent, a certificate signed with his signet, in order that we may know how our command is executed.

Given in our city of Granada, on the thirtieth day of the month of April, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety-two.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, John de Coloma, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, have ordered this to be written by their command. Accorded in form. Rodericus Doctor, Register. Sebastian Dolano Frñn°. de Madrid, Chancellor.

And now, since it pleased our Lord that many of the abovesaid islands should be discovered by you, and we trust that with his assistance you will find and discover other islands and main-land in the said ocean, in the foresaid parts of the Indies, you have supplicated and requested of us as a favour, to confirm to you our said patent, here above incorporated, and the grace contained in it, in order that you and your children, descendants and successors, one after the other, and when you shall have closed your days, may be able to hold, and may hold, the said offices of Admiral, Viceroy and Governor of the said ocean, islands and main-land, which you have thus discovered and found, and which you shall discover and find henceforward, with all those faculties, preeminences and prerogatives which our former

and present Admirals, Viceroys and Governors of our said kingdoms of Castile and Leon have enjoyed, and do enjoy; and be enabled to collect all the fees and salaries annexed and belonging to the said offices, as our said Admirals, Viceroys, and Governors enjoyed and preserved them; or that we should issue in that respect those provisions that might be more agreeable to us: and We, reflecting upon the risk and danger to which, on account of our service, you exposed yourself in seeking for and discovering the aforesaid islands; and upon that to which you will now expose yourself in going to seek out and discover other islands and the main-land, of which we have had, and hope to have, signal service from you; and to confer a benefit and favour upon you, we confirm by these presents to you, and to your aforesaid children, descendants and successors, one after the other, now and for ever, the said offices of Admiral of the abovesaid ocean, and of Viceroy and Governor of the said islands and main-land, which by your labour and your industry shall be found and discovered henceforward in the said parts of the Indies. And it is our will and pleasure, that you should have and hold, and, your days being terminated, your children, descendants, and successors, the one after the other, the aforesaid office of our Admiral of the said ocean,

which is ours; which commences by a limit, or line, which we have ordered to be marked, which passes from the Azores to the Cape de Verd islands, from the north to the south, from pole to pole; so that all that which is beyond the aforesaid line to the west, is ours and belongs to us; and of all this we make and create our Admiral you, and your children, and successors, one after the other; and likewise we make you our Viceroy and Governor; and your days being terminated, your children, descendants, and successors, one after the other, of the said islands and main-land, discovered and to be discovered in the said ocean towards the Indies, as has been said, and we give you possession, and as if you were in possession of all the abovesaid offices of Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor for ever; and power and faculty, that you may be able to exercise, and may exercise in the said seas, the aforesaid office of our Admiral, with all the appurtenances, and in the form and manner, and with the prerogatives, pre-eminences, fees, and salaries, according to, and as our Admirals of the seas of Castile and Leon exercised and exercise, enjoyed and enjoy it. And in order that in the country of the said islands and main-land which are discovered, and shall be discovered hereafter, in the said ocean, in the parts mentioned of the Indies,

the inhabitants of all that country may be better governed, we give you such power and authority that you may be able, as our Viceroy and Governor, to exercise by yourself, and by means of your lieutenants, alcaldes, bailiffs, and other officers, whom you shall establish for that purpose, civil and criminal jurisdiction, high and low, *mero mixto imperio.* Which said offices you may remove, and suppress, and substitute others in their place, whenever you please, and judge proper for our service, who may hear, dispatch, and decide upon all disputes, civil and criminal causes, which may happen and arise in the said islands and main-land; and have and take the fees and salaries customary in our kingdoms of Castile and Leon, annexed and belonging to the said offices; and you our abovesaid Viceroy and Governor may hear, and take cognizance of all the said causes, and every one of them, whenever you please, in the first instance, by way of appeal, or by simple complaint; and take cognizance of, decide, and expedite them, as our Viceroy and Governor; and may be enabled to make, and may make, you and your said officers, whatever perquisition, in cases where it is de jure permitted, and all other things appertaining to the said offices of Viceroy and Governor, you and your lieutenants and officers, whom you shall

appoint for that purpose; which things you shall judge opportune for our service, and for the execution of justice. And all this you may, and they may, do, execute, and carry into due and effective execution, as the said officers would do, and could do, if they were placed there by ourselves. But it is our will and pleasure, that the patents and appointments that you shall bestow, be expedited and issued in our name, saying,—Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, Leon, &c. and be sealed with our seal, which we order to be given to you for the said islands and main-land; and we command all townsmen, and inhabitants, and other persons who are and shall be in the said islands and main-land, to obey you, as our Viceroy and Governor of the same; and those who may go to the said seas above-mentioned, to obey you as our Admiral of the said ocean; and all of them to execute your letters and commands; and to unite with you and with your officers in putting into execution our laws; and to give and cause to be given to you all favour and assistance, that you shall demand of them, and shall be necessary for you, under the penalties which you shall impose upon them: which We now impose upon them, and regard as imposed; and we give you the power to ex-

ecute them upon their persons and property; and, moreover, it is our will and pleasure, that if you should judge it convenient for our service and for the execution of our just laws, that any one whatsoever of the persons who are, or shall be hereafter in the said Indies and main-land, should depart from it, or not enter, nor stop there, and that they should come and present themselves before Us, you may command it in our name, and make them depart from thence; whom we, by the present, order to do it without delay, and to execute and carry it into effect, without supplicating or consulting Us; or hoping or receiving any other letter of ours, or commands, notwithstanding any appeal whatsoever, or petition they may make or interpose to your command; by all which things which have been said, and by the others due and belonging to the said offices of our Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor, we give you every full power, with all its digressions, dependencies, emergences, annexations, and connexions.— Moreover our chancellor, notaries, and other officers, who are employed in the office of our seals, are commanded, if you should demand it, to give, deliver, expedite and seal our patent of privilege folded in a roll, in the strongest, most valid, and most efficient form that you may demand, and may be necessary for you; and let

none of you act, or let act otherwise, under the penalty of our displeasure, and of ten thousand maravedis for our chamber, upon every one who shall contravene. And, moreover, we command the person, who shall present to you this our letter, to cite you to appear before our presence, in our court, wherever we are, within the first fifteen days that elapse from the day of the citation under the same penalty under which it is commanded that every public scrivener whatsoever, who should be called upon for that purpose, give to the person who shall have delivered to him the present, a testimonial signed with his signature, in order that we may know how our commands are executed.

Given in the city of Barcelona on the twenty-eighth day of the month of May, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and ninety-three.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Ferdinand Alvares de Toledo, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, have caused this to be written by their command. Peter Gfrs, Chancellor. Fees of the Seal and Register, *nihil.* And on the back: granted, Rodericus, Doctor. Register, Alonso Peres.

And now, because you the abovesaid Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the

ocean, and our Viceroy and Governor of the main-land and islands, have supplicated and requested of us as a favour, in order that the said patent of favour may be the better and more completely observed towards you, your children and descendants, that We should confirm and approve it, ordering a patent of privilege to be delivered to you, or as it might please Us; We, taking into consideration the abovesaid things, and the many good, trusty, great and continual services which you, the abovesaid Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral and Viceroy, and Governor of the Indies and main-land discovered and to be discovered in the ocean, in the parts of the Indies, have rendered to us, and hope you will render to us, especially in discovering and reducing, under our power and dominion, the said islands and main-land; more especially because we hope that, with the assistance of God our Lord, it will redound much to his service, to our honour, and to the welfare and advantage of our kingdoms, as we hope the Indian inhabitants of the abovesaid Indies will be converted to our holy catholic faith, we have received favourably your supplication; and by this our patent of privilege, and by a copy of it signed, as is said; of our own proper motion, certain knowledge, and absolute regal power, of which in this re-

spect we will use and do use, we confirm and approve, now and for ever, to you, the foresaid Don Christopher Columbus, and to your said children, grandchildren and descendants from you, and your heirs, our aforesaid patent incorporated above, and the privileges contained in it; and we will and ordain, and it is our will and pleasure, that it be of force, and be observed towards you, and your aforesaid children and descendants, now and hereafter inviolably, now and for ever, in all and through all, truly and completely, according to and in the form and manner contained therein: and if it is necessary, we now again confer upon you the said favour, firmly forbidding all and every person from presuming to act and proceed against it, or any part of it, or to infringe or diminish it, in any time or in any manner whatsoever: in regard of which we order the Prince Don John, our most dearly beloved son, and the Infants, dukes, prelates, marquises, counts, barons, masters of orders, priors, knights, and those of our council, auditors of chamber, alcaldes, bailiffs, and other magistrates whatsoever, of our household, court and chancery; and commanders of castles and of strong and open places, and all counsellors, governors, regents, alcaldes, bailiffs, mayors, provosts, and other officers of justice, in all the cities, towns, and

places of our kingdoms and dominions, and every one of them, to observe to you, and cause to be observed, this our patent of privilege and confirmation, and the letter of grace contained in it, and not go and proceed, nor permit others to go and proceed, against the tenor and form of it in any time or in any manner whatsoever, under the penalties contained in it; ordaining that upon this there be given to you this above-said patent of privilege and confirmation, written on parchment of skin, and signed with our names, and sealed with our seal of lead suspended by threads of coloured silk; which we order our high chancellor and notary, and the other officers employed in the office of our seals, to seal, deliver and dispatch; and all of you act not, nor let act otherwise, in any manner, under the penalty of our displeasure, and of ten thousand maravedis, payable to our chamber by every contravener. And moreover we command the person who shall present to you this our letter, to cite you to appear before our presence, in our court, wherever We are, within the fifteen days following the day of citation, under the foresaid penalty; under which we command every public scrivener who should be requested for such purpose, to give to him who shall have presented the letter, a certificate

signed with his signet, in order that We may know how our command is executed.

Given in the city of Burgos, on the twenty-third day of the month of April, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Ferdinand Alvares, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, have caused it to be written by their command. Rodericus Doctor, Antonius Doctor, Ferdinand Alvares, John Velasques, Antonius Doctor. Collated. And on the back of the said privilege is written: Registered. Doctor.

DOCUMENT IV.

FORASMUCH as in the capitulation and agreement made and entered into by our command with you, Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean in the parts of the Indies, it is stated that you are to have a certain part of whatsoever might, or should be bartered for in the Indies themselves, deducting first the expenses and losses that might or should be made; and as until now you have laboured

very much in discovering land in the said parts of the Indies, on which account no great advantage has been received from them, although some expenses and disbursements have been made; and it being our will and pleasure to confer a favour upon you; by these presents we decree and ordain, that of the expenses and disbursements made until now, relatively to the affairs of the foresaid Indies, and which may be made in the voyage that now, by our orders, is preparing and arming for the same Indies, until the arrival at Isabella, in the island of Hispaniola, no part whatsoever shall be demanded of you for that purpose, nor shall you be obliged to contribute any thing more than what you employed in the first voyage, upon condition that you do not demand, nor take, any thing of what, till now, has been drawn from the abovesaid islands, by right of the tenth, or of the eighth, which you, the abovesaid Admiral, are to have, of the moveables of the said islands, nor by any other right whatsoever. We make a grant to you of what you have had until now. And as you, the foresaid Admiral, say that first an eighth ought to be taken from whatever may hereafter be drawn from the abovesaid islands, and from what remains deduct the expenses and then the tenths; and as, according to the order and tenor of the said capitulation, it

appears that first the expenses should be deducted, and then the tenth, and afterwards the eighth, and it is not yet ascertained what is to be observed in such respect, it is our pleasure, in order to confer a favour upon you, the foresaid Admiral, that for three years there be first deducted the eighth part for you, clear of all expenses, and afterwards the expenses shall be deducted, and from the remainder a tenth be paid for you, the foresaid Admiral. But after the said three years elapsed, the tenth abovesaid, the expenses and the eighth shall be deducted, in conformity to the foresaid capitulation. And by this favour, which we confer upon you for the foresaid time, there is not given to you, nor taken from you, any right belonging to you in that respect, beyond what you enjoy in virtue of the foresaid capitulation; on the contrary, that shall remain in its force and vigour when the time above fixed upon shall be elapsed. Done in the town of Medina del Campo, on the twelfth day of June, in the year ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King, and of the Queen, Ferdinand Alvares. And on the back of this letter is written: granted.

DOCUMENT V.

Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Arragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jahen, the Algarves, Algesira, Gibraltar and the Canary Islands; Count and Countess of Barcelona, Lords of Biscay and Molina, Dukes of Athens and Neopatria, Counts of Roussillon and Cerdan, Marquises of Orestan and Goziano.

Whereas, at the time when Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean, went to discover the islands and main-land, which, by the grace of God our Lord, he found, and were discovered in the said ocean, in the parts of the Indies, it was stipulated with him, that he should have, and take for himself, certain parts of whatever should be found; and now we are besought in his name, that it may please us in our grace, in order that the above-mentioned things may be preserved and executed to him more effectually and completely, to order that the whole negociation, and the things that are to be done and provided in these our kingdoms, respecting the said commerce of the said Indies, should be carried on by a person or persons of

ours, with our powers, who may attend to that negociation, conjointly with him (the said Admiral), and with any one acting in his stead, because thus the expenses arising from it, and the profits and advantage resulting from the said traffic would be better understood; so that he may receive that part which belongs to him, according to the said convention, and that of which We made him the grant: and We, having received favourably the supplication, by this our letter do order the persons, who by our command have, and shall have, the charge of attending henceforward to the aforesaid business, to do and transact it, conjointly with the person or persons whom the said Admiral, or his attorney, shall place or appoint for that purpose, and not otherwise: it being understood that the said Admiral of the Indies shall keep a person or persons, deputed and nominated, who, in his name, and by his authority, shall attend to it; and that We shall be informed that such persons have been deputed and nominated by the said Admiral, in order to attend in his name to the said affair. In testimony of which, we order that these presents be given, signed with our names, and sealed with our seal. Given in the town of Medina del Campo, on the thirtieth day of the month of May, in the year of the nativity of our Lord

Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Ferdinand Alvares de Toledo, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, have caused this to be written by their command. And on the back of the said letter is written: In form. Granted. Rodericus Doctor, Registered; Alonso Peres; Fernando Dias, Chancellor.

DOCUMENT VI.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

DON CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, our Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor of the Ocean; the things which, in our opinion, ought, and have to be performed and executed, with the assistance of God our Lord, for the population of the Indies and main-land discovered and placed under our dominion, and those that are about to be discovered in the parts of the Indies in the Ocean, and for the people who, by our order, are established there, and who shall go and settle there henceforward, in addition and besides that which, in virtue of

our other instructions, you and the Bishop of Badajoz were to provide, are the following:

In the first place, as soon as you arrive, if it be God's pleasure, in the foresaid Indies, you must endeavour, with the utmost diligence, to encourage and direct the natives of the said Indies to live quietly and peacefully, to serve Us, and to remain lovingly under our dominion and subjection; and, above all, you must endeavour to get them converted to our holy catholic faith, and to have the holy sacraments administered to them, and to those who are to go and live in the foresaid Indies, by those religious clergymen who are and will be there; so that God may be served, and they may have quiet consciences.

Item: that for this time, until We command that others be provided, there are to go and may go with you to the number of three hundred and thirty persons, of your selection, of the quality and in the capacity contained in the foresaid instructions; but if it should appear to you that some of those offices ought to be changed, by increasing some or diminishing others, and that some persons should be removed from one office to another, that you, or whoever may receive the power from you, may be able to do it, and may do it, according, and in the manner and form, and at the time or times, that you

will see and judge opportune for our service, and for the welfare and advantage of the said government of the said Indies.

Item: when you shall be, with God's blessing, in the said Indies, you must give orders to found, and let there be founded, in the island of Hispaniola, another colony, or small town, besides that already founded, on the other side of the island, near the gold mines, according as, and in the place and form, it may be agreeable to you.

Item: that near the said colony, or near that already established, or in any other part that may appear convenient to you, there must be formed and prepared some field, or farm, in order that the persons who are or who shall be in the said island, may be the better maintained and with less expense; and in order to execute this more conveniently, there must be given and let there be given as a loan, to the labourers who shall go to the foresaid Indies, as far as fifty bushels of wheat and corn, from the stores, which we shall send there, in order that they may be sown by them; and as many as twenty couple of cows and mares, and other beasts of burden; and that such husbandmen who receive the aforesaid corn shall sow and cultivate it, under the obligation of paying it back at the harvest, along with the tenth part

of the crop, with the power of selling the remainder to Christians, as well as they can, provided the price is not so high as to be oppressive to the purchasers, because, in that case, you, our foresaid Admiral, or whoever is appointed by you, must tax and moderate it.

Item: that to the abovesaid number of 330 persons, who are to go to the Indies, there must be paid, and let there be paid to them the salary agreed upon, as it has been paid till now; and instead of food, which it was the custom to give them, there must be given, and let there be given, from the provisions, which are sent there by our command, to each person a fanega of wheat per month, and twelve maravedis a day, so that they may purchase other necessary articles; the order for which must be delivered to them by you our aforesaid Admiral, and by your lieutenants, and by the officers of our chief accomptants, who are, and shall be in the foresaid Indies, so that on presenting your registers, warrants and bills, in the said form, our treasurer, who shall be in the said Indies, must and shall pay them.

Item: if you the foresaid admiral shall see and judge it advantageous for our service, to increase the number of the 330 persons, you may do so, carrying it to 500 in all; upon condition that the pay and maintenance necessary

for the persons so increased, be taken from such merchandize and articles of value, as shall be found, or may be, in the said Indies; without our ordering it to be provided for elsewhere.

Item: the pay that is, or that may be due, according to the registers, to the persons who have been, or are in the said Indies, must and shall be given to them, in the form and manner that has been said before; and those who have no engagement, shall be paid for their services, according as may appear reasonable to you; and the same shall be done to those who have served for others.

Item: that the fees, salaries and pay, which the alcaldes and other principal persons and officers who have dwelt there, and served, and still serve, are to have, must and shall be increased and paid to them, according as shall be judged proper by you our foresaid admiral; regard being had to the quality of the persons, and the manner in which each one has served, and shall serve; for (besides this) when it pleases God that there should be a means of conferring a favour upon them in the said Indies, we shall not be unmindful of doing so: which must be agreed upon before our said officers, and delivered and paid to them in the abovesaid form.

Item: the heirs of the Abbot Gallego and of Andrea de Salamanca, who died in the Indies, shall, in presenting themselves, be paid for the value of the barrels and casks, which were spoiled and taken from them, on account of their going to the Indies contrary to our prohibition.

Item: as to the settlement of the bills of those who have died, or may die in the aforesaid Indies, it appears to Us that the form ought to be observed, which is to be found in the chapter of the memorial, which you gave us upon this subject, and is as follows:

Many strangers and natives have died in the Indies; and I, in virtue of the powers received from your Highnesses, ordered that they should present the proofs in writing, and they would be discharged, appointing Escoba, a citizen of Seville, and John de Leon, a citizen of Isabella, to act truly and faithfully in this respect, both in paying the debts, in case the executors had not settled them, and in remitting all their property and pay; and all this must be done in a judicial manner by deeds of a public scrivener; and whatever they may remit must be put into a box under three keys; one of which they are to keep, a priest another, and I the third; and that the aforesaid monies should be placed in the abovesaid box, and remain there three years, to give the heirs time to come, or send,

to receive them; and if within such time they are not demanded, they are to be distributed for the relief of their souls.

Also: it appears to us, that the gold that may be found in the said Indies should be coined, and made into pieces like the *exçelentes* of Granada, as we have ordered to be done in these our kingdoms; for in that manner an end would be put to the cheats and frauds in the said gold of the foresaid Indies. And in order to coin the said money, we order you to take the persons, stamps, and machines, necessary for you; giving you for that full power; upon condition that the money that shall be coined in the abovesaid Indies be conformable to the regulations, which by our orders are actually observed respecting the mint; and let the officers of the mint observe the said regulations, under the penalties contained in them.

Item: it appears to Us, that there should be given to Indians, with whom it is concerted that they are to pay the tribute imposed, a piece, or mark of brass coin, or lead, which they must wear on the nape; and the figure, or mark of this said coin, must be changed every time they pay, in order that it may be known who has not paid; and that wherever and whenever persons are found in the island, who have changed the said mark on the nape,

they are to be seized and subjected to some slight punishment.

Item: in order to collect, and remit the said tribute, a diligent and faithful person must be appointed to attend you, it is our will, and we command, that . . . . . have the said charge, and that he may have and take from the tribute and merchandize which he shall thus gather, collect, make and pay, five weights, measures or pounds per cent. for himself, which is the twentieth part of whatever he may thus collect.

DOCUMENT VII.

Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Arragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jahen, Algarve, Algesira, Gibraltar, and the Canary Islands; Count and Countess of Barcelona, Lords of Biscay and Molina, Duke of Athens and Neopatria, Counts of Roussillon and Cerdan, Marquises of Orestan and Goziano: to our great Justiciary, and to those of our council, auditors of our chamber, alcaldes and bailiffs, and other officers of justice, whoever they may be, of all the cities,

towns and places of our kingdoms and dominions, and to each and to every one of you in your several places and jurisdictions, to whom this our letter shall be presented, or a copy of it, signed by a public scrivener, health and grace: Know ye, that for the population of the islands and main-land discovered and placed under our dominion in the parts of the Indies in the ocean, it will be necessary to purchase in these our foresaid kingdoms, to transport them thither, certain merchandize, victuals, provisions, instruments, iron tools, casks, vessels, and other things; which things the persons are to purchase, who by Us, and by Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the said ocean, have been, or shall be appointed for that purpose. And as it has been reported to Us, that the owners of such merchandize and other things, refuse to sell them, in order to enhance their price, which would be to our disservice; it is our will and pleasure that the foresaid articles be sold at the price they are usually worth. Wherefore We command you to furnish the persons, appointed by us and by the said admiral, who purchase the said articles, or any others whatsoever, for the inhabitants and the provisioning of the said islands, and for navigating thereto, with them at reasonable prices, and according to their usual worth in the said cities,

towns and places, among the inhabitants thereof, without raising the price; and presume not to act otherwise, under the penalty of our displeasure, and of ten thousand maravedis, against any one of you contravening, for our chamber: and moreover, whosoever, or whatsoever there may be of you our foresaid officers of justice, who shall neglect to act and perform thus, we order the person, who shall present this our letter to you, to cite you to appear before Us in our court, wherever we may be, within the next following fifteen days from the day of the citation, under the foresaid penalty: under which also we command every public scrivener whatsoever, applied to for that purpose, to deliver to him who shall exhibit it, a certificate signed with his signet, in order that We may know how our command is executed. Given in the city of Burgos, on the twenty-third day of the month of April, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Ferdinand Alvares de Toledo, secretary of the King and of the Queen, our lords, have caused this to be written by their command. Granted. Rodericus Doctor, Registered. Alonso Peres. Ferdinand Dias, Chancellor.

DOCUMENT VIII.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

DON CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, our admiral of the ocean, viceroy and governor of the main-land and of the islands of the Indies, and Antonio de Torres, gentleman of our life-guards; the things which in our opinion, with the help of our Lord God, ought to be provided and dispatched to the Indies, for the support and maintenance of the persons who are there, and who are to go there for the duties they have to perform, appertaining to God's service and ours, are the following:

In the first place, in this first voyage, and until we give other orders, there are to proceed thither 330 persons, of the class, quality, and employments, under mentioned, reckoning in the said number of 330 persons, those who are now residing in the foresaid Indies: which said 330 persons are to be chosen by you, our foresaid admiral, or by whoever you shall appoint; and they are to be divided in this manner: forty arquebusiers, one hundred foot soldiers, thirty seamen, thirty midshipmen, twenty

gold workers, fifty husbandmen and gardeners; twenty officers of every description, and thirty women; who thus make up the number of 330 persons: who are to go and reside in the foresaid Indies, as long as they please; so that, if any of the persons who reside in the said Indies, should request, or be obliged to return, there should remain, and may remain, as well of those who are now there, as of those who will be there, the said number of the foresaid 330 persons. But if it should appear to you the foresaid admiral, to be for the welfare and advantage of the undertaking, to change the said number of persons, omitting some of the officers, and substituting others in their places, you have the power to do it; provided the number of persons, who have to reside in the foresaid Indies, exceeds not the register of 330.

Item: for provisioning you, the foresaid admiral, your brothers, and other principal officers, who are to go with you to reside in the foresaid Indies, and the said 330 persons, and for ploughing and sowing, and for the sustenance of the animals you shall carry thither, there must be transported, and let there be transported 550 bushels of wheat, and moreover 50 bushels of corn; which are to be provided, and let them be provided from the stores belong-

ing to Us from the *terçias* of the archbishopric of Seville, and the bishopric of Cadiz, of last year, ninety-six; as is specified in our order for its delivery, which upon this we command to be given.

Item: that there must be sent to the said Indies, such iron tools and utensils, as may appear to you, our foresaid admiral, to be necessary, to work with in the said Indies; and likewise mattocks, spades, pickaxes, hammers, and levers, suitable to the foresaid Indies.

And likewise, that besides the cows and mares that are in the said Indies, the number must be completed up to twenty couple of cows, mares and asses, with which they may cultivate the foresaid Indies, according as shall appear desirable to you the foresaid admiral.

And it likewise appears to us, that it would be desirable to purchase an old vessel, in which might be put as much of the provisions and the above-mentioned articles as she could carry; because her timbers, and wood and iron-work would be of great service to the colony, which is about to be established on the other side of the island of Hispaniola, near the mines: however, if it appears to you, the said Admiral, not to be desirable to take the said vessel, let it not be taken.

Moreover, there must be taken to the said Indies fifty bushels of flour and as many as a thousand q. of biscuit; until means are provided for the erection of mills and mill-stones; for which purpose some stones and other mill-utensils must be transported there from hence.

Item: there must be taken to the foresaid Indies two field-tents, of the value of twenty thousand maravedis.

Item: with respect to other provisions and articles, which it will be necessary to convey to the Indies, for the food and clothing of those who are to go and remain there, it appears to us, that the following regulations should be observed.

Let some upright and trust-worthy persons be selected, with such, it is said, that you, the said Admiral, have almost agreed; who must engage to freight and transport to the foresaid Indies the said provisions, and other articles that may be necessary there; and there shall be given to them such portion of the money, which, by our orders, was issued for that purpose, as you shall judge proper, and they must give security for the money thus advanced, which they are to employ in purchasing the said provisions, and in freighting and transporting them at their own expense to the said

Indies; and they shall go at our risk, and the chances of the sea, and when arrived there, with God's blessing, the said provisions must and shall be sold; the wine at fifteen maravedis a jug; a pound of dried pork, and salt meat, eight maravedis: and the other provisions and vegetables, at such prices as you the said Admiral, or your lieutenant, shall determine upon, so that they may obtain some profit, and not lose by it, and the people not be oppressed. With respect to the maravedis, which such person or persons shall have received in advance for the said provisions, which they shall sell in such manner, they must pay back to our treasurer, who is, or shall be, in the said Indies, those maravedis, which you may have given to them, in order that with them he may be enabled to pay the people. If any of the said people take the said provisions on account of their pay, they may be received on account, presenting a receipt for whatever they may have received: which the foresaid treasurer, and the officers of accounts, must place to the account of their pay; and on the said persons giving sureties, and obliging themselves to do and perform, as has been said, the said portion of maravedis may and shall be given to them; if it shall so appear to you.

Item: endeavours must be made to engage some respectable friars and priests to go to the said Indies, in order that they may administer there the holy sacraments to those who live there, and endeavour to convert to our holy Catholic Faith the said Indians, natives of the said Indies; and to take with them the sacerdotal ornaments, and other articles requisite for the celebration of divine service, and the administration of the holy sacraments.

There must also go there a physician, an apothecary and an herbalist; and some music and musical instruments should be taken for the amusement of the people who are to settle there.

Moreover, we hereby order that a certain part of the money be delivered to you for the voyage, which you the said Admiral are now about to undertake: We command you to use it according to the report signed by the chief commendatory of Leon, our first accomptant, and by Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado of our council, and by Ferdinando Alvares, our secretary.

Therefore we command you to cause whatever is contained above, to be observed, fulfilled, and executed; by which you will do us pleasure and service; giving you for that purpose

full power with all its incidences and dependences, annexed and connected. Given in the town of Medina del Campo, on the fifteenth day of the month of June, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1497.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen. Ferdinando Alvares. Granted. Rodericus Doctor.

DOCUMENT IX.

DON Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Arragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jahen, the Algarves, Algesira, Gibraltar, and the Canary Islands; Count and Countess of Barcelona, Lords of Biscay and Molina, Dukes of Athens and Neopatria, Counts of Roussillon and Cerdan, Marquises of Orestan and Goziano: whereas at the time that Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean, went, by our orders, to discover land in the said ocean, there was established a cer-

tain convention with him, and afterwards when he returned the first time from discovering, and finding, as by the grace and assistance of our Lord God he did find, the said Indies and main-land, we approved and confirmed to him the said convention and agreement entered into with him by our orders; and again we gave to him, and commanded that there should be given to him certain privileges and favours, as are contained in the said convention, letters patent, and privileges; now the said Don Christopher, our Admiral of the abovesaid ocean, has reported to Us, that since that time We ordered that there should be given our letter patent by provision, with certain conventions contained in it: the tenor of which is as follows:

Don Ferdinando and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c. . . . . It having been reported to us, that some citizens, and inhabitants of different cities and towns, places, and ports of our kingdoms and dominions, our natural-born subjects, would wish to go and discover other islands and main-land in the parts of the Indies in the ocean besides the islands, and main-land, which by our command were discovered in the said ocean; and that likewise others would wish to go to, live and sojourn in the island of Hispaniola, discovered and found by our command, if we would

grant them permission to do so, and if they were assisted with provisions for some time; and that they refrain from doing so, in consequence of the prohibition issued by our orders, that no person should go to the Indies without our order and permission, under certain penalties; which being seen by Us; and taking into consideration, that if the said land and islands are discovered, and any trading take place, and they were to people them, (we include not the abovesaid island of Hispaniola, which is discovered,) it would be for the service of the Lord our God; because their intercourse might bring over the inhabitants of the said lands to the knowledge of God our Lord, and convert them to our Holy Catholic Faith: considering moreover that it would be for our service and good, and for the common welfare of our kingdoms and dominions, and for our subjects and natives, We agree to ordain that there be given, and by the present we give and grant the said licence to our aforesaid subjects and natives, to go to the said islands and main-land, and to discover and traffic with them, under the conditions, according to, and in the manner contained in this our letter, and declared as follows:

First: all vessels which have to go to the parts of the said islands, in whatsoever manner, as shall be contained hereunder in this our

letter, must take their departure from the city of Cadiz, and from no other port: and before they set sail they must present themselves there before the officers appointed there by Us, or by whomsoever shall have the power from Us; in order that they may know who are going to the aforesaid Indies; and that each one in his own person may fulfil and observe what is hereafter contained in these our letters.

Whatsoever person, who wishes to go to, live, and dwell in the said island of Hispaniola, without pay, may and shall go there freely; that there he shall be free and frank, and shall not pay any tax; and shall keep for himself and as his own, and for his heirs, and for whosoever may have right from them, the houses he shall build, and the lands he shall cultivate, and the fields which he shall plant; according as the lands and places in the said island there shall be assigned for that purpose, by the persons who hold or shall hold from Us the charge of it; and to such persons, who shall thus live and dwell in the said island of Hispaniola, and not receive our pay, as is said, there shall be given provisions for one year. And, moreover, we will, and it is our pleasure, that if they go with the permission of those who have, or shall receive authority to that effect from us, to the said island of Hispaniola, pro-

vided it be not for barter, they shall have for themselves the third part of the gold which they may find, or collect in the said island, upon condition that it be not by barter, and the other two-third parts shall be ours, to be received by the officer, acting for Us in the aforesaid island. And moreover, if they go there with permission, they shall have for themselves all the merchandise and every other thing they may find in the said island, giving the tenth of them to Us, or to whoever shall have our power to receive it, gold excepted, of which they must give us two parts, as has been said. All which things they must purchase in the said island of Hispaniola, before our officers, and pay to our receiver, who is to receive them for Us, two-third parts of the gold, and the aforesaid tenth part of all the other articles, which they may find, as has been said.

Item: that any individual among our subjects and natives, that chuses, may go henceforward (as much as depends upon our pleasure and will) to discover islands and the main-land in the said part of the abovesaid Indies; as well to those already discovered till now, as to any other, and make purchases in them, provided it be not in the foresaid island of Hispaniola: he may purchase from the Christians who are there, or shall be there, any article and

merchandise, provided it be not gold; and this he may and shall do with any ship whatsoever, that shall be agreeable to him; provided that at the time he leaves our kingdoms, he departs from the city of Cadiz, and there presents himself before our officers. And as they must thence carry in each of such vessels, one or two persons named by our officers, before whom they must appear; and, moreover, must carry the tenth part of the tonnage of burthen of the said vessels, of our freight, without however any freightage being paid to them; our effects, which they may thus transport, shall be landed in the said island of Hispaniola, and be consigned to the person or persons who, by our command, shall be there commissioned to receive them; demanding from the receiver a receipt for what has been sent to him from hence. And we will, and it is our pleasure, that of all which the said persons shall find in the abovesaid islands and main-land, they shall have for themselves nine parts, and the tenth shall be ours; which they shall cause to be paid to us, when they return back to these our kingdoms, in the said city of Cadiz, whence they are first to depart; and shall pay it to the person who shall be there appointed by Us to receive it. And this payment being made, they may depart to their own homes, or to wherever they

please, with what they shall have bartered in such manner; and at the time that they depart from the aforesaid city of Cadiz they must give bail for the due execution of this article.

Item: any person whatsoever, who may wish to transport any kind of provision whatsoever to the said island of Hispaniola, or to any other island of the abovesaid Indies, peopled by our command, may transport and sell them there freely, and at the prices agreed upon with the purchasers; who may pay for them there in merchandise, or in any other article produced there. And if all the provisions or parts of them are sold to our officers established there, for the provisioning of the people who serve us there, they are and must be paid for there, as has been said, or they may give bills, in order to be paid here; provided at the time in which the said vessels depart, in which the said provisions are conveyed, they set sail from the said city of Cadiz; and appear before our officers there, and carry without freight the tenth part of the tonnage burthen of such vessels, which by our command shall be taken to the aforesaid island, as is here expressed above, and engage to pay the tenth part of whatever they may barter there, redeeming it according to the rules of the capitulation, contained here above, and on their return are bound to come

to the aforesaid city of Cadiz, to pay it, as has been said. Moreover, we having granted the special favour to Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the abovesaid Indies, of loading in each of the said vessels, going to the said Indies, the eighth part of their burthen, it is our will, that out of every seven vessels, that depart for the Indies, the said Admiral, or whoever is appointed by him, may load one for the purpose of the said adventure.

With respect to what has been said, and each and every part of it, we command it to be observed and fulfilled in all and through all, according to the contents here above in this our letter. And in order that all persons may be acquainted therewith, we order it to be published in the squares and market-places, and other customary places of all the cities, towns, places, and ports of Andalusia, and other parts of our kingdoms, wherever it shall be requisite, and that a copy of it be given to whoever may demand it: for which we order to be given, and do give this our letter signed with our names, and sealed with our seal. Given in the town of Madrid, on the tenth day of the month of April, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1495.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Ferdinand Alvares de Toledo, Secretary of the King and of the Queen our Lords, have had this written by their command. Granted. Rodericus Doctor. Registered: Doctor Fernando Dias, Chancellor.

Which said letter of provision, and what is contained in it, the aforesaid Admiral Don Christopher Columbus says was given to the prejudice of the abovesaid privileges received from Us, and of the powers which, by them, we have conferred upon him; and he has supplicated and begged of us as a favour, to order that such remedy may be found for it, as may be more pleasing to us. And as it never was, nor is our intention and will to prejudice in any thing the said Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean, nor to allow the said conventions, privileges, and favours, which we granted to him, to be encroached upon or violated, but on the contrary, in consequence of the services which he has rendered us, we intend to confer still greater favours upon him; with this our letter, if it is necessary, we confirm and approve of the said conventions, privileges, and favours conferred by Us upon the aforesaid Admiral; and it is our will, and we command, that in all and through all they be preserved and executed in his favour according as it is therein expressed. And we firmly forbid

any person presuming to violate them, or to act against them at any time, or in any manner whatsoever, under the penalties contained in them: and if the said provision, which we ordered to be published, and which is incorporated here above, be prejudicial to the tenor and form of any part of them in any manner whatsoever, we revoke it by the present; and we will and command that it have no force nor effect at any time, or in any manner whatsoever, so as to be prejudicial to the said Admiral, and to whatever we have thus granted and confirmed to him. Wherefore we order the present to be given, signed with our names, and sealed with our seal. Given in the town of Medina del Campo, on the second day of the month of June, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1497.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Ferdinand Alvares de Toledo, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, have had this written by their command. Granted. Rodericus Doctor. Registered, Alonso Peres. Fernando Dias, Chancellor.

DOCUMENT X.

Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c. . . . . To all our custom-house officers, receivers, farmers of taxes, market-stewards, collectors, and other persons, who have, or shall have, the charge of collecting and remitting in rents, in money or in any other manner, the revenues, customs, and taxes of the cities of Seville and Cadiz, in this present year of the date of this our letter, and in future years, as long as it shall please us, and to each and all of you, health and favour. Know, that it is our pleasure and will, that upon all the provisions and other articles, which by our order, and by that of Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean in the parts of the Indies, shall be embarked in order to be transported to the said Indies, and likewise upon whatsoever shall be brought from the Indies to the above-said cities and to their ports, there must not, and shall not be paid, upon the first sale, either toll, impost, or any duty whatsoever, in the present year, or hereafter, as long as it shall be our will and pleasure. Therefore we order all and each of you thus to observe it, and in observing and executing it, not to ask,

demand, or take, any toll, impost, or any other duty whatsoever upon the first sale, or loading and unloading of any goods, provisions, and other articles whatsoever, which you shall have cognizance of by the certificate of our officers, and of the said admiral, and persons who have or shall have the charge of the above-said loading and unloading, to be loaded for the abovesaid Indies, and unloaded on their return from the latter, in the said cities and ports, and in all of them, in the present year, and henceforward, as long as it shall be our will and pleasure: and if you do not act and perform in conformity to this our letter, we command any one of our tribunals to constrain and force you thus to act and perform: and none of you act, nor let others act otherwise in any manner, under the penalty of &c. . . . . Given in the most noble city of Burgos, on the twenty-third day of the month of April, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1497.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Ferdinand Alvares de Toledo, secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, have had this written. Granted. Rodericus Doctor. Registered, Alonso Peres. Ferdinand Dias, Chancellor.

DOCUMENT XI.

Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c. . . . . To the corregidors, alcaldes, bailiffs, magistrates, knights, esquires, and good men of our cities of Seville and Cadiz, and of the towns, villages, and ports of their archbishopric and bishopric; and to our farmers of taxes, market-stewards, officers of the duties, customs, and tithes, and to all other persons who have or shall have the charge of collecting and remitting in rents, money, or in any other way whatsoever, the produce of the duties, customs, imposts, and admiralty fees of the said cities and towns, and to each of you, health and grace. Know ye that for the population of the islands and main-land discovered and placed under our dominion, and that shall be discovered in the ocean in the parts of the Indies, it will be necessary to import from thence, in order to be sold, in these our kingdoms, various merchandise and other articles, and from hence to export to the Indies victuals, and other provisions and articles, and for the traffic of the said Indies, and for other things, that are or shall be necessary for the maintenance and provisioning of the persons who are there or who are to live there,

and for their habitations and fields. And as it is our will and pleasure that no duty whatsoever shall be paid upon any articles that are thus imported from the said Indies into these our kingdoms, they shall be landed freely; and on unloading no duty shall be paid of entry, or customs, or port-dues, or admiralty fees, or any other duty, or any tax upon the first sale that may be made of them; and in like manner that those who shall purchase any thing to send or take with them to the foresaid Indies, for their own provision and maintenance, or that of the people who are settled there, shall not pay any duty of entry, or customs, or port-dues, or admiralty fees, or other duty for their loading. For this reason we order this our letter to be delivered to you, by which we command all and each of you, that whenever merchandise of any kind whatsoever shall be imported from the foresaid Indies, and landed in these our ports, as long as such shall be our will and pleasure, ye permit such goods thus imported to be landed freely, without exacting the great or small duties of entry, customs, port-dues, admiralty-fees, or duty of any kind, or tax upon the first sale that may be made of such goods, that shall thus be imported from the Indies; upon shewing you a certificate signed by Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the fore-

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said Indies, or by the person who may have received such power from him, and by the person or persons, acting for Us, or for our chief accountants in our name in the Indies, that such goods were shipped in the said Indies for these our kingdoms. And in like manner you will permit freely to be loaded, during the time that it shall be our will and pleasure, whatever articles may be exported to the said Indies for the provisioning and maintenance of the exporters and of the people who shall be there, without demanding or taking the great or small duties of entry, customs, port-dues, admiralty fees, or any other duty whatsoever. And thus do and perform, upon there being presented to you a letter signed by the said Don Christopher Columbus, admiral of the aforesaid Indies, or by whoever may have the power from him, and by the person or persons, who for Us, and for our chief accountants, in our names, may be in the city of Cadiz to attend to the affairs of the foresaid Indies. And if any persons shall land the said goods coming from the Indies, without presenting the said certificate of the above-mentioned admiral, or of the person acting for him, and of the person or persons, acting for Us, and for our chief accountants in the foresaid Indies, shewing that those goods were shipped from them for these our kingdoms; or

if any one from these our kingdoms shall embark goods for the foresaid Indies, without producing the certificate of the said admiral, or of the person acting for him, and of the person or persons acting for Us and for our said chief accountants in the foresaid city of Cadiz, expressing that such goods are shipped and exported for the said Indies, they shall be and are thereby forfeited; and We hereby give power and authority to the person, or persons, who for Us, and for our said chief accountants, are and shall be appointed to the foresaid *charge* in the said city of Cadiz, or to the person whom the said admiral in like manner appoints or may appoint there, to seize such merchandise and other articles imported from the said Indies, or shipped for them, without producing the said certificate signed in the manner, that has been expressed, and to keep them in deposit, until we order what in justice and according to our will and pleasure is to be done with them. And moreover we command the said lieutenants and officers to cause securities to be given to them, that whatever shall be shipped in such manner to be exported to the Indies, shall be exported to them, and not to any other part whatsoever; and the officers of the said Indies shall likewise cause to be given to them security, that the goods shipped in the Indies shall

be landed in these our kingdoms, and not elsewhere; and with them they shall present themselves in the said city of Cadiz, before the officers, acting there for Us, and for the said admiral of the Indies, in order that no fraud or deception whatever may take place. And we command you, our foresaid tribunals, to perform and execute, and to cause to be performed and executed, the contents of this our letter, as long as it shall be our will and pleasure; as has been said. And in order that the abovementioned particulars may come to the knowledge of all, and that nobody may pretend ignorance of them; we order this our letter to be published in the squares, markets, and other customary places of the aforesaid cities of Seville and Cadiz, and of the ports of that district. And we command our chief accountants to take a copy thereof, and to place and insert it in our books, and after writing "*this is the original letter*" upon the back of it, to return our said letter to the said Don Christopher Columbus, our admiral of the Indies; and that in all the contracts which shall be made from this time, as long as it is our will and pleasure, of our duties on entry, first sale, portdues, customs, and our other duties, an exception be inserted of the contents of this our letter; and all of you act not, nor let others

act otherwise in any manner, under penalty, &c. (*as in the preceding letters.*)

Given in the city of Burgos, on the sixth day of the month of May, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1497.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Ferdinand Alvares, secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, have had this written by their order. Granted, Rodericus Doctor. Registered, Alonso Peres. Ferdinand Dias, Chancellor.

Corregidors, alcaldes, bailiffs, magistrates, knights, esquires, officers, and good men of the cities of Seville and Cadiz, and of the towns, villages, and ports of their archbishopric and bishopric; and to our farmers and receivers of taxes, harbour and custom-house officers, tithe-gatherers and other persons referred to in this letter of the King and of the Queen our Lords, written on the other side: see this letter of their Highnesses, and execute it in all and through all, according to, and in the manner and form contained in it, and as their Highnesses command: and be it understood, that all persons bringing goods from Andalusia, or from any other port whatsoever, to enjoy the foresaid franchise for the foresaid Indies, must give security, that they will produce the certi-

ficate of the said admiral, or of the person who supplies his place, and of the person whom their Highnesses, or their foresaid chief accountants, may have appointed for that purpose; and in like manner the licences and certificates that are to be carried to the Indies, or brought from them, of the goods that shall be carried to, or brought from thence, must be certified by the said admiral, or by him who supplies his place, and by the person appointed by their Highnesses, and their chief accountants; by both of them, and not by one without the other. And likewise let it be understood, that for the things contained in this letter, the farmers and chief receivers of taxes, custom-house officers and other persons, who have or may have the charge of collecting, and receiving the revenues belonging to us in the said archbishopric of Seville, and bishopric of Cadiz, for the present year, or henceforward in any future year, as long as it is the will of their Highnesses it should last, are not to receive on account either money, or any other thing; and let them strictly observe the contents of this letter; and although it says that the abovesaid franchise is to be observed from the present year, it is understood that it is to be observed from the first day of January of the following year 98, and from that time forward, as has been said, and not before.

Mayor: Joan Lopes. Fernand Gomes. Juan Hurtado. Montoro Luys Peres. Pedro de Arbolancha.

DOCUMENT XII.

Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c. . . . . To the members of our council, auditors of our chamber, alcaldes, and bailiffs of our household, court and chancery, and to all the councils and tribunals, magistrates, knights, esquires, officers, and good men of all the cities, towns, and places of our kingdoms and dominions, royal, abbatial, and free municipalities, and all other persons whatsoever, our vassals, subjects and natives, to whom the contents of this our letter refer and belong; and to each, and to every one of you, to whom this our letter may be presented, or the copy of it, signed by a public scrivener, health and grace. Know ye that we have ordered Don Christopher Columbus, our admiral of the ocean, to return to the island of Hispaniola, and to the other islands and main-land, which are in the above-said Indies, and attend to the conversion and population of the same; because that would redound to the service of our Lord God, extend

His Holy Faith, and enlarge our kingdoms and dominions. We have therefore ordered the equipment of certain vessels and caravels, in which are embarked certain persons receiving pay for a stipulated period, and victuals and provisions for the same. And whereas such people are not sufficient to form a colony, such as it behoves for the service of God, and our service, unless other persons go to dwell, live and serve there at their own expense; and We wishing to provide therefore, as well as to what concerns the said conversion and population, as to shew mercy and compassion to our subjects and natives, command this our letter upon this subject to be given. By which, of our own motion and certain knowledge, we will and ordain that all and every person, men and women, our subjects and natives, who may have committed, up to the day of the publication of this our letter, any murders and offences, and other crimes of whatever nature and quality they may be, (except those of heresy, *læsæ majestatis, perduellionis*, treason, disloyalty, certain death, or effected by fire or dagger, coining, sodomy, or carrying out of our kingdoms money, gold, silver, or other articles forbidden by us,) who shall go and serve in person in the island of Hispaniola, and shall serve in it at their own expense, and in those things which the said admiral shall command and specify to

them on our part; namely, those who have incurred the punishment of death, for two years, and those who have incurred any other punishment, although it may be the loss of a limb, for one year; shall receive a pardon for every crime and misdeed, of whatsoever nature, quality, or gravity it may be, which they may have done or committed up to the day of the publication of this our letter, excepting the cases abovementioned; whoever shall present themselves before the said Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean, before a public scrivener, from the day of the date of this our letter, until the end of the month of September next following, in order that they may go with the said admiral to the foresaid island of Hispaniola, and to the other islands and main-land of the foresaid Indies, and serve in them for the whole of the said period, in whatever the said admiral shall command them for our service, as has been said; and, thus presented, shall go to the islands and main-land aforesaid, and shall remain there continually in the said service, for all the foresaid time, and shall bring with him letters-patent subscribed by the said Admiral, and sealed by a public scrivener, certifying that the said delinquents have served in the said islands, or in any of them, for the said time, shall be pardoned. And by the present, of our own motion and certain knowledge, we pardon

them all the above-mentioned crimes, that they may have done and committed up to the day of the publication of this our letter, as has been said; and from the said day they shall not in future be arraigned for the foresaid crimes, nor for any of them, nor be proceeded against, nor shall our tribunals proceed against them, nor their goods criminally, nor in any civil or criminal penalty, at the suit of any party, or of our treasury, or in any manner whatever; nor shall execution against them or their goods take place of any judgments that are or have been given against them, which judgments We by this our letter revoke, and declare as null and void, when the said service is terminated. And we command the said Admiral of the Indies, and whatever other person may be acting for Us in the foresaid Indies, to let all such go freely, who shall have thus served their appointed time, according to the tenor of this our letter, and not to detain them in any manner whatsoever. And by this our letter it is ordered that our councillors and the auditors of our chamber, the alcaldes of our court and chancery, and all governors, and other magistrates of any kind whatsoever, of all the cities, towns, and places of our kingdoms and dominions, observe and execute and cause to be observed and executed in all and through all, this our letter of pardon and remission, and the contents of it, and every

part of the same, as is expressed in it; and in observing and executing it, not to proceed against such persons who may thus have served in the abovesaid Indies, for any crime which they may have done and committed, with the exceptions before mentioned; at the suit of any party, or of our treasury, or in any manner whatsoever, or grant execution against the said persons, or their goods, on account of such crimes; and if any process should have already been issued against them, or judgments given, we revoke and declare them null; the which by the present, of our said certain knowledge, We revoke, annul, and declare of no effect; and re-establish the said delinquents in their former good fame, and in the state in which they were, before they had done and committed the aforesaid crimes. And in order that all these things may be publicly known, and that no one may pretend ignorance of them, we command them to be publicly proclaimed in the squares, markets and other customary places: and let none of you contravene them in any manner whatsoever, under the penalty, &c. . . . . (*as in the other documents.*)

Given in the town of Medina del Campo, on the twenty-second day of the month of June, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1497.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Ferdinand Alvares de Toledo, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, have had this written by their command. Granted, Rodericus Doctor. Registered, Doctor Fernando Dias, Chancellor.

DOCUMENT XIII.

Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c. ....To all the magistrates, assistants, alcaldes, bailiffs, and other officers of justice, whoever they may be, of all the cities, towns, and places of our kingdoms, to whom this our letter, or a copy of it, signed by a public scrivener, shall be presented, health and grace: Know ye that We have commanded Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Indies in the ocean, to return to the island of Hispaniola, and to the other islands and main-land, which are in the said Indies, in order to attend to their population; and for that purpose have ordered that there be given to him a certain number of people paid for a certain time, and provisions and sustenance for them. But these people not being sufficient for the said population, as is requisite for the service of God, and our service, unless

other persons go there, to remain, live, and serve at their own expence, We are pleased to address this our letter to you and each of you, for the above reason; by which we command you, that at any and every time, that any person, or persons, either men or women, of our kingdoms, may have committed, or shall commit, any crime or crimes, for which they may, or ought to be banished, according to the laws of our kingdoms, to any island, or to labour and serve in the mines, you will condemn them to go and serve in the said island of Hispaniola, in those things which our foresaid Admiral of the Indies shall command them for the time should have remained in the said island, and in the works of the mines; and in like manner all other persons whose crimes have not made them liable to the punishment of death, but such as may be justly punished by banishment in the said Indies, you shall condemn and banish them according to the nature of their crimes to the said island of Hispaniola, to remain there and to perform whatever the said Admiral shall impose upon them for such time as may appear proper to you: and those, whom up to the present time you have condemned, or whom you may hereafter condemn to be sent to the said islands, and whom you find imprisoned, you must send as prisoners and under a

good escort, to one of our prisons of our tribunals of Valladolid or Ciudad Real; or to the royal prison of Seville; and they who escort them to the said prisons, must deliver them over to our alcaldes of the same; and such as shall be conducted to the prison of Seville must be delivered to our governor of the same, at the expence of such criminals, should they possess any property, and in case of not having any, the expences must be paid out of the monies of the fines of our chamber. And we command our foresaid tribunals to act conformably to what is here ordered; and the councils of all the cities, towns, and villages of our kingdoms, to offer upon this head all the assistance which they may stand in need of: and if any other persons may have committed, or shall commit crimes, for which they are to be banished out of our foresaid kingdoms, they must be confined in the said island according to the following manner. Those who are condemned to perpetual banishment from our said kingdoms, you will confine in the said island for ten years; and those who may be condemned to be banished from our kingdoms for a limited time, must be confined to the said island for half the time they would remain banished from our kingdoms. And none of you act, or let others act, to the contrary in any way whatsoever,

under the penalty, &c. . . . . Given in the town of Medina del Campo, the twenty-second day of the month of June, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1497.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Fernando Alvares de Toledo, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, have had this written by their command. Don Alvaro. Granted, Rodericus Doctor. Registered, Doctor Fernando Dias, Chancellor.

DOCUMENT XIV.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

COUNT de Cifuentes, our great Standard-bearer, and Governor of the city of Seville: We have dispatched an order to the tribunals of our kingdoms, that all persons who are to be, and shall be banished to the islands, or out of our kingdoms, shall be banished to the island of Hispaniola, and shall be sent to our prison of Seville. Wherefore we order you, that at any and every time when such are sent to you, condemned by our presi-

dents, auditors, and alcaldes of our tribunals of Valladolid and Ciudad-Real, and by any other corregidors and judges of our said kingdoms, to receive and keep them in prison in safe guard, until you have delivered them up to our Admiral of the Indies in the Ocean, or, in his absence, to the person appointed by us to superintend the affairs of the abovesaid Indies; and to the person whom the said Admiral may have placed there in his stead, who shall demand the criminals of you when the vessels are ready to depart on their voyage to the said Indies; at which time you will deliver and consign them over to them on board the said vessels in the said city of Seville, or in the city of Cadiz, in that, where the said vessels shall be ready to depart, prisoners and well guarded, in the presence of a scrivener and witnesses, taking a receipt and bond from the masters of such vessels that they will transport them prisoners and well guarded until they have delivered them over into the hands of the said Admiral, or to the person appointed by him to receive them in the said island of Hispaniola; and that they will bring back a certificate and testimonial, that they transported, consigned over, and left them in the aforesaid island. And the expense that shall be incurred, until they are put on board the said vessels, you will cause to be

liquidated and paid out of the property of the said criminals; and should they not possess any, you will cause it to be liquidated and paid out of our monies, with the fines of our chamber; and act not otherwise. Done in the town of Medina del Campo, on the twenty-second day of the month of June, in the year ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

FERNAND ALVARES.

DOCUMENT XV.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

* . . . . . For the population of the islands and main-land discovered in the ocean, and to transport provisions to the persons who are there, or shall be there, and to discover other lands, and thence obtain any merchandise that may be found there, it will be necessary to freight certain vessels, caravels, and

* The name of the officer to whom this letter is addressed is not mentioned in the original.

other shipping; and as the masters and owners of them might perhaps refuse to freight them, or demand a higher freight than is customary and just, which would be to our disadvantage, and a detriment and hindrance of the voyages, which are to be made to the said Indies; therefore We charge and command you, that when our said Admiral of the Indies cannot meet with the necessary ships, or finding them they will not go with him, and he shall demand of you some vessels, caravels, and other shipping for such voyages, you shall inspect the vessels and shipping that may be necessary for him, and agree with their owners, to freight them to him at such prices, as may appear to you reasonable, at which they may justly be freighted to him; and take care that the masters and pilots go in the said vessels; the whole with the smallest detriment possible to the parties: for by the present we grant you in this full power. Done in the town of Medina del Campo, on the twenty-second day of the month of June, one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

FERNAND ALVARES.

DOCUMENT XVI.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

ALCALDES of exportation and contraband, tithes, port-dues, and guards of the Archbishopric of Seville, and of the Bishopric of Cadiz, and to each of you: We command you to allow and permit Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Indies, or the person whom he shall send with a letter subscribed with his name, to take freely and load on shipboard five hundred and fifty bushels of wheat, and fifty bushels of barley from the stores which we hold in the said archbishopric, of the thirds belonging to us; for the supplying and provisioning the islands of the Indies. Which quantities here expressed, you will allow him to draw out within the five next following months, reckoning from the day of the date of this our grant, as often as he may chuse to apply for them within the said term; upon condition that on every exportation he registers before an alcalde, and two others of you, and one scrivener, on the back of this our grant, the quantity he takes; in order that he may not take more than the said five hundred and fifty

bushels of wheat, and fifty of barley. Upon which provisions we command you not to demand, or levy any duty of exportation; it being our will and pleasure that he should not pay it; because the said provisions are ours, and we have them exported for our service; which we command you thus to do and fulfil, without offering any impediment or opposition whatsoever. And act not otherwise under the penalty of our displeasure, and of ten thousand mrs for our chamber and exchequer upon any one who may act to the contrary. Done in the town of Medina del Campo, on the twenty-second day of the month of June, in the year ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

FERNAND ALVARES. Granted.

DOCUMENT XVII.

FERDINAND of Soria, Lieutenant of our High Admiral of Castile: We command you to give and cause to be given to Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean, a copy legally authenticated of whatsoever letters of grace, privilege, and confirmations, which are

in possession of the said High Admiral of Castile, relative to the said charge and office of Admiral, from which he, and his deputies, may know and ascertain the rights and other things appertaining to him in the said charge; because we have granted the favour to the said Don Christopher Columbus, to have and enjoy the graces, honours, prerogatives, liberties, rights, and salaries, in the Admiralty of the Indies, which our said High Admiral of Castile has, holds, and enjoys. The which do and perform as soon as you shall be required by this our letter, without interposing any excuse or delay whatsoever. And if you do not act and perform thus, we command our governor and the other magistrates of the city of Seville, to constrain and force you thus to act and perform. Done in the city of Burgos, on the twenty-third day of the month of April, in the year ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

FERNANDO ALVARES.

Granted.

DOCUMENT XVIII.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

By the present we grant licence and authority to you, Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean, to be able to take, and you may take into pay to the number of three hundred and thirty persons, in order that they may dwell in the Indies, in the offices and classes following: forty arquebusiers, a hundred persons as soldiers and labourers, thirty mariners, thirty midshipmen, twenty gold-workers, fifty husbandmen, ten gardeners, twenty officers of all descriptions, thirty women: which make in all the foresaid three hundred and thirty persons; to whom you shall cause pay to be given, according to the instructions respecting them we command to be given to you. And if among any of the aforesaid offices or people it may be necessary to make a change, by increasing the number of some, and diminishing that of others, you are at liberty to do it, as you will see and judge consonant with our privilege: upon condition, however, that in all they be three hundred and thirty, and no more. Done in the city of

Burgos, on the twenty-third day of April, in the year 1497.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

FERNAND ALVARES.

Granted.

DOCUMENT XIX.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

. . . . . OUR Treasurer of the Royal property, and of effects appertaining to Us of the islands and main-land newly discovered, and placed under our dominion, in the ocean in the parts of the Indies; We command you, with the gold, merchandise, and other articles, which shall be obtained in the foresaid Indies, to give and pay to the persons, entitled to receive from Us, any salary, or pay, or other monies, which they may have to receive for the freight of the vessels, and sailors, and for other things necessary for the habitation and population of the people now there, or who are about to go to the said Indies, for pay and salary, and the people who may have served us in time past, whatever is due to them, according as you

shall see from the muster-rolls, draughts, and orders, signed with the names of Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor of the abovesaid Indies, or of his lieutenant, and of the officers of our chief accountants, who are or shall be in the foresaid Indies. With which receipts and rolls, and with the present letters of payment, we command that there be received for you in account the said monies, which the said Admiral and officers shall thus release; and give and pay as has been said, nor do ye otherwise. Done in the city of Burgos, on the twenty-third day of the month of April, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

FERNAND ALVARES.

Granted.

DOCUMENT XX.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

To our chief Accountants, and their lieutenants and officers: Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean,

has represented to us that he has lent, and lends to several persons who are in the Indies certain sums of money, which he says are to be repaid to him out of the pay and provisions which the said persons are to receive from Us; and he has supplicated us that you do pay to him the said monies out of those which such persons are to receive from Us. Wherefore We command you that upon the said Admiral, or whoever may have the power from him, shewing you, in a valid and legal form, that such monies are due to him from such persons, you cause them to be reimbursed to him by our Treasurer of the said Indies, or by his deputy, in order that they may pay him with what they were to give and pay to the same persons who have thus contracted debts with the said Admiral. Done in Burgos, on the ninth day of May, in the year ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

FERNAND ALVARES.

Granted.

DOCUMENT XXI.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

By the present we give authority and licence to you, Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean, that whenever you judge it necessary for our service to take a greater number of persons than those whom we now command to go and establish themselves in the Indies, you may take and keep to the number of five hundred persons in all, at what time, and in what manner, may appear most suitable to you: upon condition, however, that the pay and provisions which such persons, whom you may add, are to receive, be paid to them by some merchandise, or other articles of value, that shall be met with in the foresaid Indies; without our ordering provision to be made otherwise. Done in the city of Burgos, the twenty-third day of April, 1497.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

FERNAND ALVARES.

Granted.

DOCUMENT XXII.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

. Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c. . . . . Memorials having been presented to us from some persons who are established, and from others who are desirous of establishing themselves, in the island of Hispaniola, in order that we might command that there be given and assigned to them, in the said island, lands, in which they could sow corn and other seeds, and plant gardens, cotton, flax, vines, trees, sugar-canes, and other plants, make and construct houses, mills and machines for the said sugar, and other useful and necessary buildings to live in, which is for our service, and likewise for the welfare and utility of the inhabitants of the said island; therefore by the present we give licence and authority to you, Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean, and our Viceroy and Governor in the said island, that you may give and distribute in all parts of it, and that you do give and distribute to those persons, and to each of them, who now live and dwell in the said

island, and to those who henceforward may come to live and dwell there, the lands, mountains and waters, which you shall see proper to be given and distributed to each of them, according to his situation, and the nature of his services, and the condition and quality of the person and his existence, fixing the boundaries to each to whom you shall have made such gift and distribution; in order that he may have, hold and possess them for his own, and as his own, and may make use of them, plant and cultivate them, and draw profit from them; with the power of being able to sell, give, bestow, exchange, alienate, and make of them, and with them, whatever he likes and judges proper, as of a thing of his own, for life, and with just and right title; the said persons, however, obliging themselves to keep and maintain a dwelling, with an inhabited house, in the said island of Hispaniola, for the four next following years, reckoning from the day on which you shall give and distribute to them the said lands and effects, and that they shall build houses in the said island, and plant the said vineyards and gardens, in the manner and quantity that you may judge requisite. Upon condition that in the lands, mountains and waters, which you shall thus give and distribute, the said persons must not,

and shall not, have any civil or criminal jurisdiction, nor any habitation with plantations, or pasture land, which is not inclosed with a high earthen wall; and all beyond the walls, after the harvest has been gathered in, shall be a common pasturage for all. In like manner we reserve to Ourselves the brasil-wood, and all gold and silver metals, and every other metal, that may be found in the said lands; and we will likewise, that those persons, to whom you shall give and portion the above-mentioned lands, shall not be permitted in them, or in any part of them, to load or unload metals, brasil-wood, or any other thing whatsoever belonging to Us, and which by our command is to be loaden and unloaden. And that they only may sow, gather, take away, and enjoy the fruits, corn, grain, seeds, trees, vines and cotton plantations, which in the abovesaid lands they shall sow, and gather, as has been said. And we will and command that the lands, which you shall give and distribute in the above-mentioned manner, by no other person whatsoever, be taken or occupied, or sequestration or any impediment whatsoever be placed upon them, or any part of them; but be held and possessed freely, and used and enjoyed by the persons to whom you have given them, according to the tenor of this our letter. And let none act to the

contrary in any manner whatsoever, under the penalty of our displeasure, and of ten thousand maravedis for our chamber, upon every one who may act to the contrary. Given in the town of Medina del Campo, the twenty-second day of the month of July, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I Juan della Parra, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, have had this written by their orders. And on the back of the said letter was written: Granted, Rodericus Doctor. Fernand Ortis, Pro-Chancellor. Registered, Doctor.

DOCUMENT XXIII.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

DON Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c. It being the peculiar duty of sovereigns and princes to honour and elevate, and to bestow graces and favours upon their

native and other subjects, and especially upon those who have truly and faithfully served them; We having seen and taken into consideration the many great and faithful services which you, Don Bartholomew Columbus, brother of Don Christopher, our Admiral of the ocean, and Viceroy and Governor of the islands newly discovered in the Indies, have rendered, and do render to Us every day, and which we trust you will render to Us henceforward; it has appeared well to Us, and it is our will and pleasure, that from this time henceforward you style and entitle yourself, Prefect of the foresaid Indies; and that you may use, exercise and perform in the said islands, and in each of them, all the functions which the other prefects of our foresaid kingdoms can perform; and that you have and enjoy, and that there be maintained to you, all the honours, graces, favours, pre-eminences and prerogatives, that are due, and should be made and . . , according to the laws promulgated by Us in the Cortes of Toledo, and the other laws of our kingdoms, to the other prefects of our said kingdoms, as well within their prefectures as without them. And by this our letter, or by a copy of it, signed by a public scrivener, we command the most illustrious Prince Don John, our most dearly beloved son, and the Infants, prelates,

dukes, marquises, counts, prefects and grandees, masters of orders, priors, commanders and sub-commanders, and our councillors, and the auditors of our chamber, alcaldes, bailiffs and all other judges whatever, of our household, court and chancery, and all the councils, tribunals, regents, knights, esquires, officers and good men of the cities, towns and places of our foresaid kingdoms and dominions, and our said Admiral, Viceroy and Governor of the said islands, and the inhabitants of the colony, and other people and inhabitants who dwell there, or shall dwell there, permanently, or in any other manner whatever, that now and henceforward they entitle and call, and have and hold you as Prefect of the said islands and main-land, and preserve, and cause to be preserved to you, all the said honours and pre-eminences, prerogatives and immunities, which, according to the said laws, ought to be preserved to you; and that they pay, and cause to be paid to you the fees and emoluments annexed and belonging to the said office of our Prefect, fully and completely as not to be diminished in any part whatsoever. Wherefore We, by this our letter, create and make you Prefect of the said islands and main-land which have recently been found and discovered in the Indies; and we receive and hold you as received into the said office, and into

the use and exercise of it. And we command that neither in it, or in any part of it, there be placed, or permitted to be placed, any obstacle or impediment whatsoever. And if, of what has been said, you shall request our letter of privilege, we command our chancellor and notaries, and other officers who are in our office of the seals, to seal, give and deliver it to you. And let no one act otherwise, under the penalty of our displeasure, and of ten thousand maravedis for our chamber, upon any one who should act to the contrary. And moreover we command the person who shall shew them this letter, to cite them to appear before Us, in our courts, wherever we may be, within the fifteen next following days from the day of the citation, under the aforesaid penalty. Under which we command every public scrivener whatever, who may be called upon for that purpose, that after having shewn to them the citation, he send to us a writing, signed with his signature, in order that We may know how our commands are executed.

Given in the town of Medina del Campo, the twenty-second day of July, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1497.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I Juan della Parra, Secretary of the King

and of the Queen, our Lords, have had this written by their orders. And on the back of the said letter was written: Granted, Rodericus Doctor. Ferdinand Ortis, Pro-Chancellor. Registered, Doctor.

DOCUMENT XXIV.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

By the present we give licence and authority to you, Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean, and our Councillor, that you may pay, and do pay, to the persons who have been, are, and may be henceforward, (conformably to the instructions which you received from Us respecting the number of persons who are to reside in the said Indies,) and to the owners and masters of vessels who have transported, and shall transport, provisions and other articles to the said Indies, all the monies which are due to them, or shall be due henceforward, of whatsoever pay or provision and freight of shipping; whatsoever is to be paid here being first verified by the Bishop of Badajos, and yourself; and what

is to be paid in the Indies, by you and by the deputy of our chief accountants, who resides there; giving to each what is and shall be justly due to him; all which you will have to pay, with whatever merchandise, and other articles may be met with in the foresaid Indies. Provided always that the draft for payment you may give them, be signed by the said deputy of our chief accountants, and entered in our books: of which we give you full power.

Done in the town of Alcala de Henares, on the twenty-third day of the month of December, in the year ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

FERNAND ALVARES.

Granted.

DOCUMENT XXV.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

To the Reverend Father in Christ, the Bishop of Badajos, and Don Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the ocean, both of you of our council: We have received your letter; and in reply to what you say, that until

now no step has been taken with respect to the provisions which are to be sent to the Indies, on account of your not finding any person who will furnish them at the price which was fixed upon them here in the instructions that you and the said admiral carried with you; as they assert that the said provisions bear a higher price, than what was here fixed; and this being so, We command and charge both of you together to take information of, and seek out some trustworthy persons, who may purchase them, at a price that may be just, and appear to you reasonable to be given for them, having respect to the quality of the said provisions: and if you do not meet with such persons, take the steps that may appear best to you, that the departure of you the aforesaid admiral may not be farther delayed; for which we grant you full power. Done in the town of Alcala de Henares, on the twenty-third day of the month of December, in the year ninety-seven.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

FERNAND ALVARES.

And on the back is writen: Granted.

DOCUMENT XXVI.

Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c. To you knights, esquires, officers, good men, and all other persons of whatsoever state and condition you may be, who by our command were, are, and shall be hereafter in the islands, by our command discovered and to be discovered in the ocean in the parts of the Indies, and to all and every one of you, health and grace. You well know, that Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the said Indies in the said ocean, is our Viceroy and Governor of them, in virtue of our letters of commission, which for that purpose we ordered to be given, and have given to him. And it being our will and pleasure that the said Admiral may hold the said charge of our Viceroy and Governor, and that he use and exercise it in the said islands, and that you all do and fulfil whatever he on our part shall command, and shall understand to be consistent with this our privilege; We command all and every one of you thus to do and perform, and that all of you, in conformity to his orders, do and perform whatever he on our part shall command you, as if We in person commanded you to do it, under the penal-

ties that he shall impose, or command to be imposed upon you on our part, which by the present we impose upon you, and look upon as imposed: to put them in execution against such as shall act to the contrary, we grant full power to the said Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, or to whoever he may invest with power, and let none of you act contrarywise in any manner, under the penalty of our displeasure, and of ten thousand maravedis for our chamber on any one who shall contravene it. Given in the city of Segovia, on the sixteenth day of the month of August, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and ninety-four.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Fernando Alvares, secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, caused this to be written by their orders. And on the back of the said letter was written as follows: Granted, Alonso Peres. Pero Gfrs, Chancellor.

DOCUMENT XXVII.

DON Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c.

To all and sundry captains, masters, owners, mates, and sailors of vessels, caravels, and other sloops, and to all other persons of whatsoever condition, who are our vassals, subjects, and native subjects, to whom whatever is contained in this our letter refers or may refer; and to all and every one of you, to whom this our letter, or the copy of it signed by a public scrivener, shall be presented, health and grace. Know ye that we have commanded Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean, and our Viceroy and Governor of the islands and of the main-land of the said ocean in the parts of the Indies, to go as our Captain, with certain ships, caravels, and other sloops to the foresaid islands and main-land, which in the said part of the Indies have been discovered, and are to be discovered. Wherefore by the present we command all and each of you the foresaid masters, captains, owners, mates and crews of the said ships, caravels and other sloops, and all the crews that sail in them, and in every one of them, that you hold, and that they hold as our captain general of the said ships, sloops and caravels, the foresaid Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral, Viceroy and Governor of the said ocean, and obey him, and hold him as our Captain general; and do and perform, and put into execution whatever by him on our part

shall be ordered and commanded of you, and every thing, and every part of it, according to, as, and in the form and manner, at the time, and under the penalties that he shall order you on our part, without any hinderance or delay whatsoever, as fully and completely, as if We in person commanded you to do it; because We by the present appoint him our Captain general of the said ships, caravels and other sloops, and confer upon him power and authority to command and govern them as our Captain general, and to execute upon the crews of them whatever punishment they may have incurred by not fulfilling and obeying his commands, as has been said. Moreover it is our will and pleasure, that neither you our said Captain general Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral and Viceroy and Governor, nor any others of you, go to the Mines which belong to the most serene King of Portugal, our brother; it being our will to observe, and cause to be observed by our subjects and natives whatever we have capitulated and agreed upon with the said King of Portugal, respecting the said mines. All which we command you thus to do and perform under the penalty of our displeasure, and of the confiscation of your property for our chamber and treasury. Given in the city of Barcelona, on the twenty-eighth day of May,

in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and ninety-three.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Fernando Alvares de Toledo, secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, have had this written by their command. And on the back of the said paper was written: Granted, Rodericus Doctor. Registered, Alonso Peres. Pero Gr̃s, Chancellor.

DOCUMENT XXVIII.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

FORASMUCH as in the powers, which we ordered to be given, and did give to you, Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Indies and main-land discovered, and to be discovered in the ocean in the parts of the Indies, and our Viceroy and Governor of the foresaid islands and main-land, it is declared that you shall grant the letters patent and commissions that are to be made and dispatched to the foresaid Indies and main-land,

in our name—for Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, &c.—which must be sealed with our seal, which for that purpose we ordered you to take with you; and as it may happen that you may not be present in the foresaid Indies and main-land, in consequence of its having been settled that you should prosecute the discovery of other islands and main-land, or that you may have other things to execute necessary for our service, it may be requisite to appoint some other person in your place, who in your absence may attend to and transact the affairs of the foresaid islands and main-land; and as such person may not be able to attend to, nor provide for the same by giving our said letters patent and commissions in our name, without having power and authority from Us for that purpose; for these reasons by the present we give power and authority to the person whom you shall nominate to reside in your absence in the said islands and main-land, that he may despatch and expedite the affairs and causes, that may happen there, granting the said commissions and letters in our name, and sealing them with our seal, the same as you yourself would be able to do when present in the said islands and main-land, by virtue of the aforesaid powers which you possess from Us. In testimony of which we command the present to be given to you signed

with our names. Done in Barcelona, on the twenty-eighth day of May, in the year ninety-three.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

FERNAND ALVARES.

And on the back is written: Granted.

DOCUMENT XXIX.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

As in the convention which we ordered to be made with you, Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean, and our Viceroy and Governor of the islands and main-land in the said ocean in the parts of the Indies, among other things it is specified, that for the offices of government which are to be filled up in the said islands and main-land, you are to nominate three persons for each office, and that we shall nominate and appoint one of the three to such office, and it being impossible at present to observe the said convention, in consequence of your approaching departure for the foresaid islands; We, being fully satisfied

that you, our foresaid Admiral, Viceroy and Governor, will faithfully appoint thereunto, and as is suitable for our service, and the good government of the said islands, by the present grant you power and authority that you may (as long as it shall be our will) appoint to the aforesaid offices of the government of the said islands and main-land, such persons, and for the time, and in the form and manner, as shall be agreeable to you; and to those persons, who may be thus appointed by you, we grant the power and faculty of executing the said offices according to, and in the form and manner that shall be contained in the commissions which you shall give to them for the said offices.

Done in the city of Barcelona, on the twenty-eighth day of May, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-three.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

FERNAND ALVARES.

Granted.

DOCUMENT XXX.

DON Ferdinand, and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c. WHEREAS you, Don Christopher Columbus, our

Admiral, Viceroy and Governor of the ocean, have supplicated and beseeched us, as a favour, to grant to you the power and faculty of forming and establishing out of your property, vassalages, revenues, and perpetual offices, one or two majorats, in order that there may remain a perpetual memorial of you, and of your house and race, and for the honour of your descendants: and we having seen this, and considering that it is an attribute especial to Kings and Princes to honour and elevate their subjects and natives, and those especially who truly and faithfully serve them; and as by forming such majorats honour is reflected upon the royal crown of these our kingdoms, which derive profit and utility from it; considering also the many good, trusty, great and continual services which you the foresaid Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral, have rendered, and do render us every day, more especially in discovering and subjecting under our power and dominion the islands and main-land which you discovered in the said ocean, and above all, that we hope, with the assistance of God our Lord, that it will redound much to His service, and our honour, and to the welfare and utility of our kingdoms, confiding that the people of the foresaid Indies will be converted to our holy catholic faith, we are pleased to accede to your

request: and by this our letter, of our own accord, certain knowledge, and royal absolute power, of which in this respect we will make use, and do make use, as King and Queen and Lords, who in temporal affairs acknowledge no superior, we give you licence and authority, that every time, and whenever you wish, and it appears proper to you, as well during your lifetime by simple contract and legacy, as by donation *inter vivos*, as by your testament and last will, and by codicil, or in any other manner whatsoever, according to your will and pleasure, you may make, and constitute a majorat or majorats, by means of one, two, or three instruments, or by many, as often as, and in the manner you desire, or as may be agreeable to you; and that you may make and constitute the said majorat, or majorats, in favour of Don Diego Columbus, your eldest legitimate son, or of any of your children your heirs, whom you now have, or may have from this time henceforward; and in defect and failure of children, in favour of one or two of your relations, or other persons, according to your will and pleasure; and that you may make and constitute it upon whatsoever subjects, jurisdictions, houses, lands, heritages, mills, and rights, and whatever other heritages and effects, and whatsoever offices, that you hold from Us

de jure or inheritance: and that of all the foresaid, and of each thing and part thereof, which you now hold and possess, and belongs to you, to have and possess until this time, and shall have and possess henceforward: as well by favour and donation, as by renunciation, purchase, barter, exchange, and permutation, or by whatsoever other titles, onerous, or lucrative, or in any other manner whatsoever, or by any cause or reason that may be: which said majorat or majorats you may make and constitute to your entire wish, and free will and disposition; as also your foresaid goods and chattels, entirely and fully without any diminution, as well as any part or parts thereof, in order that, inviolably, of your said goods and chattels, and parts thereof, there may be made a majorat in the said Don Diego Columbus your son, and in your said children and descendants, in whom you may wish to make or shall make the said majorat, or majorats, with the conditions and limitations, obligations, bonds and confirmations, institutions and substitutions, modes, rules, penalties, and submissions, which you shall judge proper, and with whatsoever statute and devises, conditions and covenant, and according to, and in the form and manner in which you shall bind, devise, dispose, and stipulate, by one or more instruments, as has been

said. All of which, and each thing, and part thereof, considering it, as here expressed and declared, as if it were here expressed and specified word for word, We now and henceforward of our said certain knowledge, proper motion, and absolute royal power, of which in this respect we will make use, and do make use, praise, approve, confirm, and interpose in it, and in every thing and part of it, our royal decree and authority. And we command that it be of avail to you, and be observed in all, and in every thing and part of it, inviolably, both now and for ever; although it, and each thing and part thereof, were against express law, and against all form and order of law; and were such and in such manner that it would be necessary to have it expressed and specially mentioned in this our letter; nor may it be comprehended under the generality there; and that it be observed as fully and completely, as if our approbation, licence, and command were signified to each thing, part, and particle thereof; as, according to, and in the form that shall be contained in your said disposition, or dispositions. And it is our will that all this be done thus, notwithstanding your other children, heirs, and your other relations and kinsmen descendants, and collaterals, be aggrieved in their portions and maintenances, that belong to them;

and that the said Don Diego Columbus your son, and he, or they, upon whom you shall settle the said majorat or majorats, or legacy, or augmentation, have, or may have a very great and notable increase to what, in strict justice or law, you could leave them in your testament and last will, and give to them by donation *inter vivos*, or in any other manner whatsoever. And it is our will and pleasure, that the property which you may thus include and establish in your said majorat or majorats, shall be inalienable, and indivisible for ever and ever; and that the person or persons in whose favour you shall establish this majorat or majorats, or who, according to your disposition, shall or may have them, shall not be able to sell, give, bestow, alienate, divide, separate, nor lose them for any debt which he owes, or for any other reason, cause, crime, misdeed or offence, they may commit, excepting *crimen læsæ majestatis, vel perduellionis*, or treason, or the crime of heresy. And this it is our will and pleasure shall be observed, notwithstanding the laws which prescribe that majorats cannot be established, although they be made by virtue of any letters-patent and rescripts whatsoever, granted for that purpose; and notwithstanding likewise whatsoever laws or ordinances, usages and customs, style and practice, either common or mu-

nicipal, of the Kings, our predecessors, there are, or may be, contrary to the foresaid; notwithstanding also the laws which declare that whatever is done to prejudice a third person, or contrary to the good usages and customs, in which the party supposes that he shall be hurt or damnified, has no force; and the law which says, that prohibitive rights cannot be revoked; and the laws which say, that letters-patent given against law, justice and rights, ought to meet with obedience, but not execution, although they contain in themselves any derogative causes whatsoever, and other validities and notwithstandings; and the law which says, that by the law of nature the protection of parties is assured, and that this can neither be taken away nor revoked; and that the laws and established rights cannot be revoked except by the Cortes; and in spite of any other thing whatsoever, effect, quality, vigour, or mystery, there is, or may be against the aforesaid things, however urgent, necessary or mixed, or in any other manner whatever. Because, of our said certain knowledge, our own accord, and absolute royal power, of which, on this occasion, we will make use, and do make use, as Kings and sovereign Lords, acknowledging no superior in temporals, considering it in this place expressed and declared, as if word

for word it were here placed and expressed, we dispense with and abrogate, derogate, take away and remove, in as much as regards this, and appertains, or may appertain, to it, from this our letter, and from its contents, every obreption and subreption, and every other obstacle and impediment; and we supply every other defect, or any thing whatsoever, which in fact, law, substance or solemnity, are necessary or desirable to supply, for the validity and corroboration thereof. And we command our most illustrious Prince Don John, our most dearly beloved son, and the Infants, prelates, dukes, counts, marquises, barons, masters of orders, priors, commanders and sub-commanders, and governors of castles and strong and open holds, and our councillors, and the auditors of our chamber and chancery, alcaldes, bailiffs, sheriffs, provosts, judges, knights, esquires, officers and good men of all the cities, towns and places of these our kingdoms and dominions, who are now, or may be hereafter, to observe, and cause to be observed, towards you this favour which We grant you, in all, and through all, according to what is contained in it; and not to proceed or exceed against it, or against any part of it, at any time, or in any manner, or for any cause whatsoever, or for any reason that may now, or shall be here-

after, and to fulfil and execute, and to carry effectually into due execution, the disposition or dispositions which you may make respecting the majorat or majorats, legacy or augmentation, according to, and in the form and manner that is expressed, and shall be expressed, in them, and in each of them, without waiting for, or expecting in this regard, any other letter or mandate of ours, or for a second or third intimation. And we command our High Chancellor, notaries, and other officers employed in the office of our seals, to deliver, expedite, and seal for you our letter of privilege in the most valid and proper manner that may be requisite for that purpose; and none of you act, or permit others to act, contrariwise in any manner whatsoever, under the penalty, &c. . . . . Given in the city of Burgos, on the twenty-third day of the month of April, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1497.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Fernand Alvares de Toledo, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, have had this written by their orders. And on the back of the said letter was written as follows: In forma. Rodericus Doctor. Registered. Alfonso Peres; and sealed.

DOCUMENT XXXI.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean, and Viceroy and Governor of the islands discovered in the Indies: We have seen your letters, and felt pleased at the information which you have given us in them, and that God has granted so prosperous an issue to your undertaking, and a favourable prospect to what you have begun; by which He will be greatly served, and We likewise, and our kingdoms, be much benefited. May it please God to reward you for what you have done for His service! As for Us, you may be assured of receiving many favours, such as your labours and services have so well entitled you from us. And as we wish the undertaking commenced by you, with the Divine assistance, to be continued and forwarded, we desire you not to delay your coming; therefore, for our service, hasten, as much as possible, your return, in order that whatever is necessary may be provided in time. And as the spring, as you perceive, is already begun, and that the season for returning there may not pass over,

examine whether in Seville, or elsewhere, any thing can be got ready for your return to the land which you have discovered; and write to us immediately by this courier, who has to return quickly; in order that immediate proper arrangements may be made, during the time of your coming here and returning back; so that by your return from hence every thing may be prepared. From Barcelona, the thirtieth day of March, in the year ninety-three.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen, Fernando Alvares. And on the back, addressed: By the King and Queen; to Don Christopher Columbus, their Admiral of the ocean, and Viceroy and Governor of the islands which have been discovered in the Indies.

DOCUMENT XXXIII.*

THE QUEEN.

Don-Christopher Columbus, my Admiral of the ocean, Viceroy and Gover-

* There is no No. XXXII. in the original.

nor of the islands newly discovered in the Indies; by this courier I send you a copy of the book which you left here. The reason of its being so long delayed, was to have it written out secretly, in order that neither the Portugueze who are here, nor any other person, might know any thing of it. And for that purpose, that it might be more quickly finished, you will perceive that it is in two different handwritings. Certainly, according to what has been here seen and treated of respecting this affair, we perceive every day more and more its greater weight and importance; and that in this you have rendered us notable service, and we acknowledge ourselves greatly indebted to you. We therefore trust in God, that besides what has been agreed upon with you, (which shall be done and fulfilled most exactly,) you shall receive from Us many more honours, favours and privileges, as is but right, and as your services and merits do deserve. If the sailing chart which you were to prepare is finished, send it to me immediately; and for my service hasten your departure as much as possible, in order that, with the blessing of God, you may proceed without any delay, as you see of what importance it is for the success of the undertaking. And write to us concerning every thing, and continue to write regularly; and We, on our

side, will take care to acquaint you of all that passes here. Respecting the treaty with Portugal no determination has yet been come to with those who are here, although I think the King will be induced to act reasonably in this affair. I would wish you, however, to be of a contrary opinion, in order that you may be more vigilant and attentive in doing what is necessary, so as not to be deceived in any manner whatever. From Barcelona, the fifth day of the month of September, in the year ninety-three.

I THE QUEEN.

By command of the Queen, Juan della Parra. On the back, addressed: By the Queen; to Don Christopher Columbus, her Admiral of the Ocean, and Viceroy and Governor of the islands newly discovered in the Indies.

DOCUMENT XXXIV.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

DON Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean, and our Viceroy and Governor of the islands newly discovered in the

Indies: We have seen the letters which you sent us by Antonio de Torres, from which we received great pleasure; and we return many thanks to our Lord God, for having executed it so well, and for having guided you so well throughout all. We acknowledge ourselves obliged and indebted to you for what you have performed in those parts, and arranged in the best order and foresight imaginable. We have likewise given audience to the said Anthony de Torres, and received all that you sent us by him; nor was this the less expected from you, in consequence of the earnestness and great affection we have found and do find in you for whatever regards our service. You may be certain that We consider ourselves exceedingly well served by you, and that we feel it our duty to confer favours, and honours, and privileges upon you, such as your great services demand, and entitle you to expect. And as the said Antonio de Torres delayed coming here until now, and we had not seen your letters, which he had not sent to us, wishing to deliver them himself safely, and in order to hasten the departure of the ships, now about to sail, which, immediately we were informed of it, we ordered to be despatched, with a complement of the things you sent for in your memorial, and as completely as possible, without detaining them;

and thus also every thing shall be done and executed mentioned in the other memorial brought by him, and at the time and in the manner he shall direct. We cannot now answer you as we wished; nevertheless when he departs, if it please God, we will answer you fully, and we will give orders to provide whatever may be requisite. We have heard with displeasure of the circumstances which have taken place in those parts contrary to our will; for which we shall order proper remedy as well as punishment. In the first vessel that returns to Spain, send home Bernal de Pisa,* to whom we have sent an order to that effect; and let the person, whom you and Father Buyl† may judge proper, fill his office, until we have provided another for it here, as in order to hasten the departure of the said ships, no steps till now have been taken upon it: but in the next voyage, if it please God, a proper person shall be sent out

* "Bernal de Pisa was sent out in this voyage with the office of Accountant to their Catholic Majesties."—*Don Ferd. Columbus*, c. 50, who mentions that he became the head of the insurrection which took place at the end of 1493. This was probably the cause of his being recalled to Spain.

† Columbus having determined to proceed in search of the continent, nominated a council in his place for the government of the island (Hispaniola), which consisted of Diego Columbus, his brother, with the title of President, Father Buyl, and Pedro Fernandez.—*Ferd. Columbus*, c. 53.

for the said office. From Medina del Campo, the thirteenth day of April, ninety-four.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

JUAN DE LA PARRA.

And on the back, addressed: By the King and the Queen, to Don Christopher Columbus, their Admiral of the Ocean, and their Viceroy and Governor of the islands newly discovered in the parts of the Indies.

DOCUMENT XXXV.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

DON Christopher Columbus, our high Admiral of the islands of the Indies: We have seen your letters and memorials sent to us by Torres, and have felt great pleasure in being made acquainted with all that you have written to us in them; and we return many thanks to the Lord for all, hoping that with His assistance, your undertaking will be the cause of our holy catholic faith being still more widely spread; and one of the principal things which pleased us so much in this affair, is, its having been invented, commenced, and obtained through your means, labour and indus-

try. It appears to us that of all that you told Us from the beginning would happen, almost the whole has been verified, as if you had seen it, before mentioning it to us; and we trust in God, that what yet remains to be known, will be verified in like manner: for all which things We are bound in duty to confer favours upon you, such as you shall be perfectly satisfied with. And having reflected upon all that you have written to us, although you express yourself minutely upon every thing, which upon reading gives us great pleasure and joy, nevertheless we should feel greater satisfaction by your writing to inform us how many islands have been discovered up to the present time, and what is the name you have given to each of them; for although you name some of them in your letters, they are not all named; and also the name given to the others by the Indians, and the distance between them, and whatever you have found in each of them, and what is said to be produced in them; and what has been sown since you were there, and what has been obtained, the time being already elapsed, in which whatever has been sown, should be reaped. And more especially we wish to know all the seasons of the year, such as they take place there in each month separately: it appearing to us, from what you say, that there is a great difference in the seasons from what we

have here. Some wish to know if there are two winters and two summers in the same year; inform us of every thing for our service, and send us the greatest number possible of falcons, and of all the other birds that are produced there, and that can be had, because we are desirous of seeing them all. And as for the things, of which you have sent us a memorial, to be provided here and forwarded to you, we have given orders for them all to be provided, as you will learn from the foresaid Torres, and as you will see by what he brings with him. We should wish, if you approve of it, that, in order to receive news from you, and from the people who are with you, as well as that you may be provided constantly with all necessary things, a caravel should sail every month from thence, and another depart from hence, as, the affairs of Portugal being now arranged, vessels may pass and repass in security. Reflect upon this, and if it appears to you proper to be done, do it, and write to us in what manner you think it would be proper to expedite the vessel from hence. As to what relates to the forms you have established, we entirely approve of those you have hitherto commenced, and desire them to be continued, recommending to you to keep the people as much satisfied as possible, but at the same time

not allowing them to transgress in any thing in what they are to do, or you order them to do, on our part. And with respect to the town, which you have founded, there is no one here who can lay down certain rules for it, nor correct any thing; for if We ourselves were there present in person, we should take your counsel and opinion in this respect; how much more so being absent? wherefore we refer the whole of it to you. To all the other points contained in the memorial brought by the said Torres, the answer has been written in the margin of the same to what was proper you should know: to which we refer you. With respect to the disputes with Portugal, a convention has been entered into here with their ambassadors, which appeared to us less subject to inconveniences; and in order that you may be fully and distinctly informed of it, we send you a copy of the articles agreed upon; so that it is not necessary for us to dilate here upon the said subject, except to order and charge you to observe them fully, and cause them to be observed by every one, according to the tenor of the said convention. With respect to the boundary which is to be determined, it appearing to us a very difficult thing, and an affair which requires much knowledge and confidence, we would wish, if it were possible, that you were

present there, to assist in its determination, along with the commissioners on the part of the King of Portugal. And if your going upon this affair should be attended with difficulty, or your absence be productive of inconvenience, see whether your brother, or any other of the persons about you, be fit for the trust, give them the fullest information in writing, and verbally, and by picture, and every other means proper to instruct them; and send them immediately to us by the first caravels that sail, in order that we may send other persons from hence with them, within the period of time agreed upon. And whether you are to go yourself upon this affair, or not, write to Us fully respecting all you know of it, and which may appear to you proper to be done, for our information, and that our interests may be in all points attended to; and take care that your letters, and the persons whom you have to send, may arrive soon, that they may proceed to the place, where the line is to be determined, before the time agreed upon with the King of Portugal be elapsed, as you will see by the capitulation. From Segovia, on the sixteenth day of August, ninety-four.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

FERNAND ALVARES.

And on the back, addressed: By the King and the Queen: to Don Christopher Columbus, their high Admiral of the islands in the Indies.

DOCUMENT XXXVI.

Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c. . . . . To you, Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of our islands and main-land, which by our command have been discovered, and which shall be discovered, in the ocean, in the parts of the Indies; and to you Don John de Fonseca, Archdeacon of Seville, and of our Council, health and grace. Know ye that We have resolved to order a fleet of some ships and transports to be equipped in order to be sent to the aforesaid Indies, as well to govern and keep possession of the said islands and main-land, of which possession has been taken in our royal name, as to discover others. But as, in order to collect and equip the said fleet, and to furnish it with all that may be necessary and requisite, it behoves Us to nominate and depute persons to superintend and execute it, therefore confiding in you, as persons that will protect our privilege, and perform well, faithfully

and diligently, whatever we may command and recommend to you, We order that for the foresaid reason, there be given to you this our letter; by which we command you to proceed to the cities of Seville and Cadiz, and to every other city, town, place, and maritime ports of their respective archbishopric and bishopric, where you may think proper, and cause to be freighted and purchased, and do freight and purchase whatever ship, vessel, caravel, and transport, which you may judge proper and suitable for the aforesaid fleet, from any person, or persons: and if in that manner you cannot obtain them, you are empowered to take, and may take them, although they may have been freighted to any person whatsoever, with the least damage possible: and we command the owners of the said ships, vessels, caravels, and transports, to give and consign, sell, and freight them to you, on paying them the price, for which they were purchased or freighted by you, or that they ought to have according to the contracts and agreements, which they shall make or settle with you: and the said ships, vessels, caravels, and transports thus purchased and freighted, you are authorized to equip and furnish with provisions, and to provide with arms and instruments, and may provide with arms, instruments, provisions, and gunpowder,

mariners, naval stores, and officers that may be necessary, and which you shall see and judge proper: whom you are authorized to take and may take from whatsoever place and part, or vessel, where you shall find them, paying to their owners such reasonable prices as they ought to receive for them, and likewise you may constrain and oblige any officer of any office whatsoever, who may be suited to go in the said fleet, and whom you shall judge it advantageous to take with you; to whom shall be given such reasonable pay and salary as they ought to receive. And in order that you may be able to subscribe, and may subscribe in our name to any security that may be requisite and necessary for all that has been said, and in order that you may be able to make and may make all sequestrations, compulsions, seizures, exemptions, purchases, and sales of . . . . . which may be proper and necessary, with all their incidences, and dependencies, annexations, and connexions, by this our letter We give you full power to do so. However it is our pleasure and command that a statement and account of all the foresaid things be kept, in case We should wish to give orders for their being laid before us; that they be registered in our books kept by our chief accountants; and that all the preceding orders regarding the said fleet, be

done and executed in the presence of Juan de Soria, secretary of the Prince Don John, our most dearly beloved son, who goes as deputy of our said chief accountants, and with their authority, and in no other manner whatsoever. And it is likewise our pleasure and command that whatever regards the purchase of arms, ammunition, or provisions, and other things, the freighting of the vessels, and other expenses of the foresaid fleet, be done and transacted in the presence of the deputy of our notary, whom we now nominate for this fleet, jointly with the said Juan de Soria, deputy of our chief accountants. Likewise: that in paying the wages due to the people of the foresaid fleet there may be no fraud, nor deception, we ordain that the presentations and musters of the foresaid people be made before the deputy of our said notary; and upon his certificate, signed with his name, the foresaid Admiral and Don Juan de Fonseca shall issue the mandate for whatever has been said above. And the foresaid deputy of our chief accountants must sign the foresaid mandates in order to keep a statement and account of them; in such manner that the person who may have to pay, shall not pay any thing without a letter, or voucher of the said Admiral and Don Juan de Fonseca, and subscribed by the said deputy of our chief accountants. And if to

fulfil, complete, and put into execution the said things, or part of them, any favour or assistance should be necessary for you, by this our said letter we command every one of our counsellors, governors, magistrates, alcaldes, bailiffs, judges, knights, esquires, officers, and good men, masters of vessels, transports, and every other person whatsoever, who may be called upon for that purpose, to give and cause to be given to you, such favour and aid fully and completely; and that they put not, nor allow to be put upon it, or upon any part of it, any impediment or opposition, under the penalty of our displeasure, the privation of offices, and the confiscation of all the goods of each of the contraveners. Moreover we command the person, who shall shew this our letter, to cite you to appear before Us in our court, wherever We may be, within the term of the first fifteen following days, under the said penalty: under which we command every public scrivener whatsoever, who for this may be applied to, to give to the person, who shall shew it to you, a certificate subscribed with his signature, in order that We may know how our commands are executed. Given in the city of Barcelona, on the twenty-fourth day of the month of May, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1493.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

I, Fernand Alvares, secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, have had this written by their commands. And on the back is written: Registered in form. Rodericus Doctor, Peter Guttieres, Chancellor, and sealed.

And thus presented before the said alcaldes in the manner prescribed, the said Admiral declared to the said alcaldes, that, he having occasion to produce and present the said privileges, orders, and original papers incorporated above, in many parts and places, where his rights were to be enforced, he feared that by producing, or presenting them they might be lost, or torn, or that some unfortunate accident might happen to them, or to some one of them; and to avoid such inconveniences he demanded of the said alcaldes, and of each of them, that both of them together should inspect and examine the said privileges, letters, and orders, which he presented before them; and command me the foresaid scrivener to draw out, or cause to be drawn out, one, two, or as many more copies as might be necessary for him. And that they should interpose their authority and judicial decree, that such copy or copies might have the same validity wherever they

appeared, as the said original privileges, letters and grants, signed with their names, and moreover signed and subscribed by me, the foresaid scrivener, and should order them to be given to him for the protection of his rights. And upon this he said, that if it were necessary, he implored, and did implore the noble intervention of the foresaid alcaldes. And immediately the said alcaldes, having examined his petition, took into their hands the said letters, privileges, and original grants, and read them themselves, and each of them; and seeing them entire, not torn, nor erased, nor in any part suspicious, so as to affect their validity at law, but on the contrary exempt from every flaw and suspicion, they both of them jointly declared, that they commanded, and did command me the foresaid scrivener, to draw out, or cause to be drawn out from the said letters, privileges and grants, one, two, or as many more copies as the aforesaid Admiral might ask of me, or might stand in need of; and that I should give and consign them to him signed with their names, and signed and subscribed by me the foresaid scrivener, in which, and in each of which, they and each of them, interposed and did interpose their authority and decree, so that they might be valid, and bear testimony in courts of justice and elsewhere, in whatsoever time and place they might

be presented, as fully and completely as the foresaid letters, privileges and grants, originally presented. And the said Lord Admiral said, that of all this in the manner in which it had been done, I give him a copy in faith and testimony, for the protection of his rights. And I therefore gave him this, signed by the foresaid alcaldes, and by each of them, and signed and subscribed by me the foresaid notary public; and it was made, extracted, corrected, and collated with the said originals, and with each of them in the said city of Seville, on the day, month, and year mentioned above.

RV S. STEPHEN DELLA ROCCA.
Alld. Alld.

I, Gomes Nieto, and . . . . . of Seville, was present at the authorisation and command of the said alcaldes, and am witness,

JOHN FERRO.

. . . . . of Seville, was present, at the authorisation and command of the said alcaldes, and am witness. And I, M. . . . . public scrivener of Seville, subscribed to the said authorisation.

(L. S. of the Notary.)

DOCUMENT XXXVII.

BULL OF ALEXANDER VI.

IN THE NAME OF GOD. AMEN.

This is a copy well and faithfully taken from a writing written on parchment of skin, in the Latin language, and sealed with a seal of coloured wax, placed in a small box, suspended by a riband of green silk, subscribed and signed by a certain notary apostolic, as appears by it. The tenor of which, word for word, is as follows.

Peter Garsia, by the grace of God, and of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Barcelona, Royal Auditor and Councillor: to all and singular, who shall see, read, or hear the present letters, or the present public instrument, everlasting health in the Lord, and perfect fulfilment of their desires. To you and to each of you we make known by the present, that we have had in our hands, held, handled, seen, and diligently examined the apostolic letters of our

most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, Alexander VI. by divine Providence Pope, from which hung his true Bull of lead with threads of silk of a red and saffron colour, according to the style of the Roman court, sound and entire in their marks, not vitiated, nor erased, nor in any part suspicious, but free from every doubt whatsoever, as in them appeared. The tenor and contents of which follow word for word, and is such.

Alexander, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his very dear son in Christ, Ferdinand, King, and to his very dear daughter in Christ, Isabella, Queen, illustrious, of Castile, Leon, Arragon, Sicily, Granada, health and apostolic benediction. Among the works most acceptable to the Divine Majesty, and desirable to our hearts, that is certainly above all, that the Catholic faith, and the Christian religion, especially in our times, should be exalted, and everywhere diffused and spread; and that the salvation of souls be sought after, and barbarous nations subjected, and brought over to the said faith. Wherefore We, having been elevated, by the favour of divine clemency, although undeserving by our merits of so high a rank, to this sacred seat of Peter, acknowledging you, as true catholic Kings and Princes, whom we have

always known as such, and as your most illustrious actions, now made known to all the world, shew, not only that you are desirous of that, but that you likewise prosecute it with all vigour, earnestness, and diligence, sparing no fatigue, expence, or danger whatever, even to the shedding of your blood, and that it is long since you have dedicated all your mind and all your efforts to it, as the recovery of the kingdom of Granada from the tyranny of the Saracens, recently effected by you, with such evident proofs of divine favour, clearly shews; we deem it therefore worthy of us, and are bound to grant you even spontaneously and graciously, those things, by which you may be enabled more fervently to follow up this holy and praiseworthy resolution, and acceptable to the eternal God, to the honour of God, and for the propagation of the Christian empire. And in truth it has come to our knowledge, that you, who had resolved in your minds, for some time past, to seek for and discover some remote and unknown islands and main-lands, and by no others hitherto found out, in order to induce the natives and inhabitants of them to worship our Redeemer, and to profess the Catholic faith, but had not until now been able to conduct this holy and praiseworthy resolution to its wished-for end,

finding yourselves fully engaged in the conquest and recovery of the said kingdom of Granada: but at length, as it pleased the Lord, having recovered the foresaid kingdom, and wishing to fulfil your desires, you despatched our beloved son Christopher Columbus, a man every way worthy and deserving of great praise, and capable of so great an affair, with vessels and men accustomed to such undertakings, with very great labour, danger and expence, in order that he might diligently seek out those main-lands and remote and unknown islands, in a sea where no person had navigated until now. Who at last, with the assistance of God, having used extreme diligence, in navigating through the ocean, discovered certain very remote islands, and also main-lands, that nobody had as yet found out; the inhabitants of which are numerous, live peacefully, and, as it is affirmed, go naked, and feed not upon flesh; and as far as your foresaid messengers can opine, the people who inhabit the foresaid islands and lands, believe that there is in heaven a God Creator; and appear well disposed to embrace the Catholic faith, and civilized manners; and there is a hope, that if they were instructed, the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ would be introduced into the said lands and islands. And already the said Christopher has

caused to be constructed and built in one of the principal of the foresaid islands, a very strong tower, in which he placed certain Christians, who went out with him, in order that they might have the care of it, and likewise discover other remote and unknown islands and continents. In which islands and lands already discovered, are to be found gold, spices, and a great many other precious things of divers kinds and qualities. Whence, having diligently considered all these things, and especially the advancement and spreading of the Catholic faith, as it becomes Catholic Kings and Princes, you have resolved, in imitation of the Kings your ancestors of renowned memory, with the favour of the divine clemency, to subject and reduce to the Catholic faith the foresaid main-lands and islands, and the natives and inhabitants of the same. We therefore, highly commending in the name of God your holy and laudable resolution, and wishing that it may be conducted to the desired end, and the name of our Saviour introduced into those parts, exhort you warmly in the Lord, and by the holy baptism you have received, by which you subjected yourselves to the apostolic commands, and by the bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, earnestly intreat you to proceed in taking up and prosecuting completely this expedition, the

zeal for the orthodox faith continuing in you, you will and ought to induce the people, who inhabit the foresaid islands and continents, to embrace the Christian religion; nor let the dangers and fatigues of it ever deter you, possessing the firmest hope and confidence, that God omnipotent will happily accompany all your undertakings. And in order that you may undertake more freely and boldly the charge of so great an affair, given to you with the liberality of apostolic grace, We of our own motion, and not at your solicitation, nor upon petition presented to Us upon this subject by other persons in your name, but of our pure free will and certain knowledge, and with the plenitude of apostolic power, by the authority of God omnipotent granted to Us through blessed Peter, and of the vicarship of Jesus Christ, which we exercise upon earth, by the tenor of the presents give, concede, and assign for ever to you, and to the kings of Castile and Leon, your successors, all the islands and main-lands discovered and which may hereafter be discovered, towards the west and south, with all their dominions, cities, castles, places, and towns, and with all their rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, whether the lands and islands found, or that shall be found, be situated towards India, or towards any other

part whatsoever; and we make, constitute, and depute you, and your foresaid heirs and successors, lords of them, with full, free, and absolute power and authority and jurisdiction: drawing however and fixing a line from the arctic pole, viz. from the north, to the antarctic pole, viz. to the south; which line must be distant from any one of the islands whatsoever, vulgarly called the Azores, and Cape de Verd islands, a hundred leagues towards the west and south; upon condition that no other Christian King or Prince has actual possession of any of the islands and main-lands found or that shall be found, discovered or that shall be discovered, from the foresaid line towards the west and south, until the day of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ last past, from which the present year one thousand four hundred and ninety-three commences, when some of the foresaid islands were discovered by your messengers and captains: decreeing nevertheless, that by this our donation, concession, and assignation, it is not intended to take or deprive of the *jus quæsitum*, any other Christian Prince, who may have actually possessed the said islands and main-lands up to the aforementioned day of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ. And moreover, we command you, by the holy obedience which you owe us, that (as you promise, and we

doubt not you will perform it, in consequence of your very great devotion, and royal magnanimity) you appoint to the said main-lands and islands upright men and fearing God, learned, skilful and expert in instructing the foresaid natives and inhabitants in the Catholic faith, and in teaching them good morals, employing for that purpose all requisite diligence. And we most strictly forbid every person whatsoever, and of whatsoever dignity, (even imperial or royal,) state, degree, order, or condition they may be, under the penalty of excommunication *latæ sententiæ*, which they will incur by the very fact of transgression, to presume, either for trafficking, or for any other cause whatsoever, to approach, without special licence from you, and your foresaid heirs and successors, the islands and main-lands found, or that shall be found, discovered or that shall be discovered, towards the west and south, drawing and fixing a line from the arctic to the antarctic pole; whether the main-lands and islands found, or that shall be found, be towards India, or towards any other part; which line must be distant from any one of the islands whatsoever, which are vulgarly called the Azores, and Cape de Verd, a hundred leagues towards the west and south, as has been said: notwithstanding the apostolic constitutions and ordinances, and all other things to the

contrary whatsoever. We confide in Him, from whom empires, dominions, and all good things proceed, that the Lord directing your actions, if you prosecute this holy and praiseworthy resolution, in a short time, for the happiness and glory of the whole Christian world, your labours and your efforts will obtain a most happy accomplishment. But, as it would be a difficult thing to present the present letters in each of the places where it might be requisite, we will and decree, of our own similar motion and knowledge, that the copies of them, signed by a public notary, employed for that purpose, and provided with the seal of some person possessed of ecclesiastical dignity, or a member of the ecclesiastical court, be regarded as equally valid in all respects in courts of justice and without, and everywhere else, as if the present letters were exhibited or shewn. Let no person therefore presume to infringe, or with rash boldness to contravene this page of our commendation, exhortation, requisition, donation, concession, assignation, constitution, deputation, decree, mandate, inhibition, and will. For if any person presumes to do so, be it known to him that he will incur the indignation of the Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, one thousand four hun-

dred and ninety-three, on the fourth day of May, in the first year of our Pontificate. *Gratis. (The signatures follow.)*

Now we having diligently examined, as has been said, these letters, at the requisition of the honourable man Alphonso Alvares de Toledo, continual domestic of the royal house of Spain, by means of the underwritten public notary, in virtue of the clause placed at the end of the preceding apostolic letters, inserted above, which says thus: "But, as it would be a difficult thing, &c." . . . . . have commanded them to be copied, transcribed and drawn up in public form, decreeing and determining that to the present public transcript, or copy, full faith be given henceforward, everywhere, in all and singular places, in which it shall be necessary, and that the said transcript may be equally valid and efficient, as the said original letters, if they were produced and presented. In all and in each of which things we have interposed our ordinary authority; we interpose likewise our decree by the present; and for a stronger and clearer evidence of the foresaid things, we have thought proper to place upon the present our seal, together with the signature and subscription of the underwritten notary appended. These things were executed in Barcelona, in our dwelling-house, and in our

chamber, on Friday, the nineteenth day of the month of July, in the year of the nativity of our Lord, one thousand four hundred and ninety-three, in the first year of the Pontificate of the said most holy Father in Christ, our Lord, Alexander VI. by divine Providence, Pope, there being present the honourable and wise men Nicholas Pillicer, canon of our church of Barcelona, and Peter John Vayo and Michael Ginõus, our clerks, priests, chaplains, and domestics, called and requested to be witnesses of the foresaid particulars.

And I, Alvares P^s. del Villar, canon of the holy church of Compostella, apostolic notary, secretary of the Right Reverend Don Diego, Bishop of Seville, was present, with the above-named witnesses, at the foresaid presentation, acceptation, requisition, inspection, and interposition of the decree, and at the transcribing of the preceding apostolic letters, and all and each of the other things, whilst they were thus doing, as has been said, acting and repeating; and heard and saw all and each of the said things thus performed, and subscribed in cipher; from which (Bull) I have extracted the present instrument faithfully written by another, I being occupied with other affairs, by command of the foresaid Lord Bishop; and I have collated the foresaid letters apostolic inserted

above, and heard them read, and compared them word for word with the originals, and signed them with my usual and customary signature and name, in proof and testimony of all and each of the foresaid particulars, being called upon and requested for this purpose.

Which said copy was corrected and collated by me the underwritten notary with the said original writing, from which it was extracted, in the most noble and faithful city of Seville, Thursday, the thirtieth day of the month of December, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand five hundred and two. Witnesses who were present to see it corrected from the original, the honourable and discreet men Gomes Nieto, scrivener, and Nyn de Ayamonte and Juan Gonzales Contero, inhabitants of the said city of Seville, called upon and requested for the said purpose.

Ruy Montana, Not.

I, P° Ruys Montana, clerk of Cordova, public notary apostolic, together with the said witnesses, was present, heard and saw all and each particular contained in this writing on parchment of our most Holy Father, and caused it to be written out faithfully by another person, and with this my usual signature have subscribed it as a proof and testimony of its truth, being called upon and requested for the said purpose.

I, Ruis Montana, Not.

THIS is a copy truly and faithfully taken from three proclamations of the King and Queen, our Lords, written on paper, and signed with their royal names, as appeared by them; the tenor of which, in due order, is as follows.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

WHAT we declare and command to be done in regard to the property of Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean.

First, that with regard to the contribution of the eighth part of the merchandise, which We now command to be sent to the said islands, and main-land, and of those which shall be sent hereafter, the said Admiral, furnishing the eighth part of the said merchandise, or paying down the value of them, all expences which may have been incurred upon them being first deducted, shall have for himself the eighth part of the profit that shall be obtained from the said merchandise; conformably to the capitulation entered into with him, which determines upon this head.

Moreover, the Commander Bovadilla having

appropriated to himself certain gold and jewels, moveable and immoveable goods and live stock, which the said Admiral possessed in the island of Hispaniola; which things are the produce and revenue of the said Indies, we command, that first of all, out of the said things that were taken from him, there be paid the expences, damages, and salary that may be due, or may have been incurred, since the said Admiral was in the Indies for the last time in the year ninety-eight, when he arrived in the island of Hispaniola; for, although in virtue of the capitulation, it was to be at the charge of the Admiral, nevertheless it was understood that he was to pay it out of what he might acquire in the Indies; and from all that may remain, the foresaid things being paid, an account must be taken, which being formed into ten parts, nine of them shall be ours, and the tenth shall belong to the said Admiral: and out of the foresaid nine parts We are to settle the pay, expences and damages that were incurred, or that were to be paid up to the time of the said voyage, which was performed in the year ninety-eight, in which the Admiral went to the island of Hispaniola, We having by especial favour exempted him from paying the tenth part of the aforesaid damages. And the said Admiral, out of the forementioned tenth part, must pay what

shall be verified to be due by him in particular to any person whatsoever, as Admiral.

Item: with respect to the cattle, which were sent from hence at our expence, as he wished; as according to the foresaid capitulation, the expences and losses incurred were to be deducted, and out of the remainder the Admiral was to receive the tenth part; it is commanded as an especial favour to him, that without deducting the said expences and losses, there should be given to him the tenth part of the said cattle and the first and second young, obtained from them; and the nine parts to remain, and be held for Us.

Item: it is ordered that there be given back and restored to him all the apparel and household furniture, and provisions of bread and wine, which the said Commander Bovadilla took from him, or a sum equivalent to them, without our receiving any part of it whatsoever.

Item: as among other things taken by the Commander Bovadilla from the said Admiral, there was a certain quantity of stones taken from the mine, from which gold is extracted, which contain a part of gold in them, we command our Governor of the said islands, to receive from the foresaid Commander Bovadilla a declaration upon oath of their quality and

number, and cause them to be restored to him, in order that they may be separated and divided in the manner that has been already expressed.

Item: we command to be restored to the said Admiral two mares with their brood, which the said Admiral purchased from a husbandman in the Indies; and two horses, which belonged to the said Admiral, one of which he purchased from Gorvala, and the other he had from his mares, that were taken from him by the said Commander Bovadilla, or a suitable compensation, without his being obliged to give Us any part thereof whatever.

Item: as the foresaid Admiral declares that he is injured in not having the nomination of the captains and officers of the ships, which by our command are about to sail for the island of Hispaniola, affirming that according to the said capitulation the nomination was in him, we declare, that the said officers and captains having already been nominated by our orders, we will ordain in future that the nomination be made conformably to the said capitulation.

Item: we declare and command that the said Admiral may export henceforward every year from the island of Hispaniola, one hundred and eleven quintals of Brasilwood, by right of the tenth part which belongs to him out of the thousand quintals of Brasilwood, which are to

be furnished every year by our command to the merchants, with whom a convention has been entered into on that point; as by the convention agreed upon with the foresaid merchants, an exception has been made of that part which the Admiral enjoys for the time contained in the said convention, with the said merchants; and moreover the tenth part of what is exported.

Item: as the Admiral declares, that the Commander Bovadilla has paid some debts of pay and other things in the island of Hispaniola, to some persons to whom no pay or any thing else was due, as will appear by the books of the said officers, and which can be proved and shewn; we command that if he has made any payment to persons to whom no pay nor any thing else was due, the said Admiral shall not be obliged to such payment.

Item: the foresaid Commander Bovadilla having taken from the brothers of the said Admiral, a certain quantity of gold and jewels, and these things having been acquired by them in their quality of governors of the Indies, let the whole of them be formed into ten parts, and the tenth part be given to the Admiral, and the nine other parts remain and belong to Us: and as for the household furniture, provisions and . . . . . and houses which they possessed,

and the gold which they may have obtained by the sale of their own property, upon proof of their being such, although We have some claims upon them, We make a gift of the whole of it to them, in order that they may dispose of it, as their own property.

Item: it is our will and pleasure, that the said Admiral shall keep, in the foresaid island of Hispaniola, a person to watch over the administration of his property, and to receive whatever is due to him; and that Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal, one of the guards of our house, be the person; and that the said Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal, on the part of the aforesaid Admiral, attend with our inspector to see the melting and marking of the gold, that may be found in the said islands and main-land, and with our factor attend to the management of the said merchandise. And we command our Governor and Treasurer, and our tribunals and officers, who at present are, and shall be in future in the said islands and main-land, to execute and cause to be observed whatever has been said above, as long as it shall be our will and pleasure: and that upon the said Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal shewing in a valid form that he is authorised by the Admiral, they give to him the part of the gold, that shall belong to him in the aforesaid islands by right of the

tenth, deducting the expences and damages; and also the eighth part of the profit upon the merchandise, which the Admiral shall prove that he employed in their purchase.

Item: the said Admiral having farmed out the offices of alguazil and notary in the said island of Hispaniola for a certain period, we command that the monies, and the revenue, derived from the said offices, be divided into ten parts, nine for Us, and one for the Admiral, deducting first the expences and indemnifications of the foresaid officers. And as he who obtained the office of notary was not obliged to give a fixed sum for it, we command that, after having been indemnified for his labour, he deliver up what he has received from it, in order that it may be divided, conformably to what has been said.

Item: that the books and writings be returned to him, which were taken from him, and if any of them should be necessary for commerce, a copy may be taken of them signed by a public scrivener, but the originals must be consigned to him, as has been said.

Item: that with respect to freightage and provisions, the said Carvajal shall have the full benefit, according as our other officers shall enjoy them.

All that has been said, and all and every

part of it, we command you our Governor and our Treasurer, and other officers and tribunals, and individuals of the foresaid islands and main-land, thus to perform, and execute in all and through all, according to the above contents. And in executing it give and consign to the said Admiral, to his brothers, or to whoever may receive the order from them, the abovementioned things, without interposing any impediments whatsoever: and act not otherwise.

Done in Granada, on the 27th day of September, in the year 1501.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

GASPAR DE GRIZIO.

DOCUMENT XXXIX.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

COMMANDER de Lares, our Governor: We have commanded and declared the order that is to be observed respecting those things, which the Commander Bovadilla took from Don Christopher Columbus,

our Admiral of the ocean, and from his brothers, and respecting the form that is to be observed in managing the subject of the tenth and the eighth, which the Admiral is to have of the moveables of the islands and main-land in the said ocean, and of the merchandise which We shall send from hence, as you will see by our declaration and command signed with our names, which we command to be given to him thereanent. We therefore command you to see the said declaration, and to cause to be delivered to him, according to its tenor, his said property, and to assist the said Admiral and his brothers, or the person acting for them, in obtaining the delivery of the whole: and if the gold and other things which the said Commander Bovadilla took to himself, should have been used, or sold by him, we command you to have the amount immediately paid to him: what may have been spent in our service, must be paid from the administration of our property; and what the foresaid Commander Bovadilla may have used for his own purposes, must be paid out of the goods and estate of the said Commander, and act not otherwise.

Done in Granada, on the 28th day of September, in the year 1501.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

GASPAR DE GRIZIO.

DOCUMENT XL.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

Ximeno de Briviesca:
We have ordered a convention to be entered into with Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean, that in all the merchandise, that shall be exported to the Indies, he may embark one eighth, and enjoy the eighth part of the profit that shall be gained upon it, according as you will see in the convention made with him, signed with our names. We therefore order you to furnish him with a minute account of the value of the merchandise, which we now order to be exported to the foresaid Indies, in order that, if he wishes, he may embark the eighth part, which you will receive in our name from the foresaid Admiral, or from his agent, giving him a receipt therefore, and receive it in money or in goods, as shall be most convenient to him, or to his agent; and, should he pay in cash, retain in your own hands the amount of the monies, to make that use of them, for which you will

receive Our commands. And register the account of all this in your books, in order that you may there verify the amount of the profit that he is to receive: and therein fail not.

Done in Granada, on the 27th day of the month of September, in the year 1501.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

GASPAR DE GRIZIO.

DOCUMENT XLI.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

DON Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the islands and main-land in the ocean in the parts of the Indies: We have perused your letter of the twenty-sixth of February, and the others that you sent to us with it, and also the memorials which you presented to us. With respect to what you mention, that in this voyage, which you are about to undertake, you would wish to call at Hispaniola, we have already told you, that as we are anxious that no time should be lost in the voyage you are now going upon, you must

proceed by the other way, but on your return, if it so please God, and it appear necessary to you, you may call there, and remain a short time; for, as you must be aware, it will be necessary, on your return from the voyage which you are now going to undertake, that We should be immediately informed by you personally of whatever you may have discovered or performed in it; in order that by your opinion and advice we may provide whatever may best conduce to our service, and also the necessary articles for traffic, which are to be provided here.

We here include the instructions of what, with the blessing of our Lord, you have to perform in this voyage. With respect to what you mention of Portugal, we have written all that is necessary about it to the King of Portugal, our son, and with this we send you our letter, which you requested of us, to his captain, in which we announce to him your departure for the west, and that we had been informed of his departure for the east: if therefore you should meet on the way, treat each other as friends, and in such way as it is proper that captains and subjects of Kings should be treated, between whom there exists relationship, love and friendship; inform him that we have written thus much to you: and we will engage the

King of Portugal, our son, to write a similar letter to his captain.

With respect to your request that you may be allowed to take with you on this voyage, Don Ferdinand, your son, with the same appointments as those of Don Diego, your son, We grant it.

We accede to the desire you have manifested of taking with you one or two persons, who understand Arabic, provided it does not cause you any delay.

As to what you propose, that part of the gain be given to the people who are going with you in these vessels, we answer that they are to go under the same conditions, as those who went before.

Respecting the ten thousand pieces of money, which you speak of, it is determined not to grant them this voyage, until we are better informed.

You will perceive that we have already given orders about the provisions and artillery, which you require.

With regard to what you say, that you have not been able to speak with Doctor Angulo, and the Licentiate Zapata, on account of your departure, write to us very fully and distinctly on this point.

As to the other contents of your memorials

and letters, respecting yourself and your sons and brothers; as you know that we are on the eve of a journey, and you upon your departure, it cannot be attended to until we are permanently settled in some place, which if you were desirous to wait for, you would miss the voyage you are now going to undertake; wherefore it is better that, being provided with every thing necessary for your voyage, you should depart immediately, without delay, leaving to your son the care of soliciting whatever is contained in the foresaid memorials; and you may rest assured, that we were very much displeased with your imprisonment, and you and every body else must have well perceived it, for no sooner were we informed of it, than we ordered you redress; and you know the distinction with which we have ordered you to be always treated; and now more than ever we are about to honour and treat you favourably, and the favours which we have conferred upon you shall be preserved entire to you, according to the form and tenor of our privileges, which you possess, without gainsay; and you and your children shall enjoy them, as is but right. And if it be necessary to confirm them again, we now confirm them: and we shall order your son to be put into possession of all; and more than this, it is our determination to honour and

confer favours upon you; and We shall shew that regard to your children and brothers which is reasonable: and all this may be done, you departing in God's name, and leaving the charge to your son, as has been said: and therefore we request you will use no delay in taking your departure. From Valencia della Torre, the 14th day of March, fifteen hundred and two.

I THE KING. I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and of the Queen.

MIGUEL PERES DE ALMANÇA.

And on the back of said letter was written as follows: By the King and Queen: to Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the islands and main-land, that are in the ocean in the parts of the Indies.

This copy was collated with the foresaid original declaratory, grant and letter, from which it was extracted, in the presence of the public scriveners of Seville, who signed and confirmed it with their names on parchment . . . . . in the said city of Seville on the 22d day of the month of March, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1502.

I, Gomes Nieto . . . . . of Seville. I, Alonso Lucas, scrivener of Seville, am witness.

I . . . . . public scrivener of Seville . . . . .

DOCUMENT XLII.

This declares that what follows belongs, and should and ought to belong to the Admiral, Viceroy and Governor of the Indies, for the King and Queen, our Lords.

According to the capitulation entered into with their Highnesses, and signed with their royal names, it appears very clearly that their Highnesses permit and grant to the said Admiral of the Indies, all the pre-eminences and prerogatives which the Admiral of Castile holds and enjoys; to whom, in right of his privilege, it is known that the third part of whatever he shall gain, belongs: and consequently the Admiral of the Indies is entitled to the third part of whatever he has acquired of the islands and main-land, which he has discovered and may discover; and likewise he is to have the tenth and the eighth, as appears from the third and fifth article of the foresaid capitulation.

And if it should be argued that the third part granted to the Admiral of Castile is to be understood as relating to moveables, which he might acquire by sea; whereas the said islands being main-land, although acquired by

sea, the third part of them cannot belong to the Admiral, in consequence of their being immoveable;

To this the said Admiral replies, by saying that it is to be observed that, in the foresaid capitulation, the said Admiral of Castile is nominated Admiral of the sea: and on that account the third part of whatever he may acquire by sea is granted to him, no jurisdiction nor office being granted to him in any other part whatsoever; and it would be very improper and unreasonable to grant him a part of what is not within his jurisdiction; it being a general maxim that *propter officium datur beneficium*, because the benefit has and ought to have a connexion with the office, and not out of it. But the Admiral of the Indies was constituted and nominated, according to the tenor of the foresaid capitulation, Admiral, not of the sea, but expressly of the Indies and of the mainland, which he has acquired in executing and discharging the said office of Admiral: and thus is to be understood and interpreted the privilege of the said Admiral of Castile, and the article which refers to it; it being sufficiently manifest that every thing is to be understood *secundum subjectam materiam, et secundum qualitatem personarum;* for by interpreting them otherwise,

the said privilege and article would be of no utility to the foresaid Admiral of the Indies; for if he does not take the third of the foresaid Indies, of which he is Admiral, as he has not been constituted Admiral of the sea, he ought not even to take what he might gain by the sea, on account of its being out of his jurisdiction and office, so that the said article and constitution would be of no avail to him; and such a thing is not to be asserted, for whatever expression is introduced into a contract must have its full force, and not be regarded as superfluous: how much more so in a case, like this, of so much importance, utility, and glory to their Highnesses, obtained at a very small expence, and without any peril to their honour, persons, or property, but with considerable peril, as was well known, to the life of, and not without heavy expence to the Admiral? For which reason the tenth part only must be looked upon as very trifling, (no mention being made of the eighth, because this belongs to him as his proportion,) and so very small part for so great a service would be a recompence indeed inconsiderable. And the remark of the divine laws is here very apposite, *quia beneficia Principum sunt latissimè interpretanda.* And moreover, favours conferred by Princes ought to be under-

stood in the most ample and complete sense; more especially by the most high and renowned Princes, such as their Highnesses are, from whom, more than from all other persons, the most ample favours are to be expected. And therefore the said third part, although it appears very small, belongs to the foresaid Admiral: for we observe in companies, formed by merchants, that the industry and foresight of one partner are looked upon and held to be upon an equal footing with the money of another, and an equal share belongs to him of the gains resulting, although obtained by the money of the other: how much more ought this to be the case of the Admiral, who displayed astonishing and incredible industry, and was exposed to great labour and peril in his own person, brothers and family? Therefore with so much the more reason he ought to have the third of all, as was really the intention of their Highnesses. And that such is truly the meaning, we see by this, that their Highnesses grant to such as go to the Indies, five parts out of six, and to others, four parts out of five, and the administration of the land, without any peril, the road being now open, secure and made known to every body. And in confirmation of what I say, as is expressed in many privileges

of the said Admiral of the Indies, the said Admiral went by command of their Highnesses to acquire not ships, or vessels, or any other thing of the sea, but expressly islands and the main-land, as is specifically mentioned in the privilege, (which might be more properly called *a grace,*) at the beginning, where it is thus declared:—"and because you Christopher Columbus go by our command to discover and acquire islands and the main-land," &c.—Now if the whole acquisition was to be islands and main-land, it is a necessary consequence that the third part must be of what has been acquired; and being the third part of the acquisition, it is notorious, that the third part of the islands and main-land acquired belongs to the said Admiral: and certainly there is no reason to doubt, that if in the beginning the foresaid Admiral had demanded a greater part, it would have been granted to him, the whole of such acquisition being made by him, a thing of which nobody had any hope or expectation, and which was far beyond the knowledge and dominion of their Highnesses. This then is a complete and distinct answer to those who assert the contrary; and the third part of the said Indies and main-land justly and clearly appears to belong to the said Admiral.

That of the tenth is very clear. With respect to the eighth, although it be equally clear, I wish to observe:

If it be asserted against him, that he is not to have the said eighth of the merchandise and articles conveyed and exported in the vessels which went for discovery to those which went to the pearl fishery, and to other parts of this Admiralty, whilst he remained in the island of Hispaniola upon the service of their Highnesses, because he contributed nothing towards their equipment; it is answered that the equipment of such vessels was not notified to him, nor was he called upon or informed of it at the time of their departure: and therefore, as by law, to the ignorant, who can prove ignorance of any fact, no time elapses, but on the contrary such plea undoubtedly grants a legitimate excuse, and even complete restitution; therefore in the actual case it should be understood and declared, that the Admiral performed his part by offering to contribute his part to the present: nor can he be blamed, but rather those, who did not notify to him, what it was their duty to do, &c.

DOCUMENT XLIII.

THE Declaration of what belongs, and should and ought to belong to the Admiral of the Indies, in virtue of the capitulation and agreement, which he entered into with their Highnesses, which is the title and right that the Admiral and his descendants have upon the islands and main-land in the ocean, is as follows.

CHAPTER I.

First, by the first article their Highnesses appointed him their Admiral of the islands and main-land discovered and to be discovered in the ocean, with the pre-eminences, and according to and in the manner that the Admiral of the sea of Castile holds and enjoys his admiralty in his district.

By the declaration of this it is to be observed, that the Admiral of Castile, in virtue of his privilege, has the third part of whatever is acquired, or he may acquire in the sea: for the same reason therefore the Admiral of the Indies ought to have the third part of them, and of whatever is acquired in them.

For inasmuch as the Admiral of Castile enjoys no third except of what is acquired in that sea, of which he is Admiral, the Admiral of the

Indies ought to have a third of them, and of whatever is acquired by land in them.

The reason of this is, because their Highnesses ordered him to acquire islands and main-land, and designated him especially Admiral of them; and from them and in them he is to receive his reward, being Admiral of, and having acquired them with great peril, contrary to the opinion of every body.

Chapter II.

By the second chapter, their Highnesses appointed him their Viceroy and Governor-general of all the said islands and main-land, with the faculty of enjoying all the offices which appertain to the government; excepting that, out of three, one should be appointed by their Highnesses: and afterwards their Highnesses conferred upon him a fresh grant of the said offices in the years 92 and 93, by privilege granted, without the said exception.

The declaration of this is, that the said offices of Viceroy and Governor belong to the said Admiral, with the power of appointing all the officers to the offices and magistracies of the said Indies, since their Highnesses, as a reward, and as it were as a payment for the labour and pains incurred by the said Admiral in dis-

covering and acquiring possession of the said islands, conferred upon him the grant of the said offices and government with the said power.

For it is very evident, that in the beginning the said Admiral would not have exposed himself, nor would any other person have exposed himself, to so great a risk and danger, if their Highnesses had not granted to him the said offices and government as a reward and recompence for such an undertaking.

Which their Highnesses justly bestowed upon him, in order that the said Admiral might, in preference to every other person, be benefited, honoured and elevated through the same means, by which he had rendered them so signal a service. For very little, or scarcely any, honour would accrue to the Admiral, whatever other recompence he might have, if in that land, acquired by him with such difficulty, their Highnesses were to appoint another superior; and as he was appointed to them for such just causes, the said offices and government in justice belong to the said Admiral.

And as the said Admiral was peacefully executing, in the service of their Highnesses, the said offices in the said Indies, he was unjustly deprived of the possession of them, contrary to all law and reason, without being cited, heard

or convicted; by which the said Admiral declares he received very great injury, considerable personal dishonour, and loss of property; and this clearly appears by the said Chapter, for the following reasons.

Because the said Admiral could not be deprived nor dispossessed of his foresaid offices, never having committed, or done, any thing against their Highnesses, for which he should legally forfeit his property. Supposing, however, that such cause existed, (which God forbid!) the said Admiral ought, first of all, to have been cited and called, heard and convicted, according to law.

And by dispossessing him without just cause, the said Admiral experienced great injury and great injustice; and their Highnesses had no right to inflict it upon him.

For their Highnesses conferred upon him the said offices and government of the foresaid land as a compensation for services and labour in gaining possession of it, whence he acquired a just interest in, and perpetual title to, the foresaid offices; and as he was unjustly dispossessed of them, the said Admiral ought, first of all, to be re-established in the said offices, and in his honour and dignity.

And with respect to the damage he has

received, which, according to the averment of the Admiral, is of considerable amount, as by his persevering industry he was finding out and discovering in the said Indies a great quantity of gold, pearls, spices and other articles of great value; let the Admiral himself declare upon oath the amount of the damage, and for this let him be indemnified according to law.

Which indemnification ought to be made by the person who unjustly dispossessed him of all his property; being obliged to it both by divine and human laws, for having exceeded the bounds of the power entrusted to him by their Highnesses.

And such indemnification and restoration into the foresaid offices, property and honours, ought to be the more promptly performed, in proportion to the injustice in depriving him of the same.

For it is absolutely incredible, nor could any one believe, that their Highnesses could approve that a man so industrious, who came so great a distance to render such signal and great services to their Highnesses as he has done by his industry and person, by which he merited still greater good fortune, should be, through the malignity of the envious, deprived of every recompence.

Having such reason to believe himself bound by affection to their Highnesses, and so well established in their good graces, the said Admiral and all the world believed that it was impossible for any calumniators to make him lose the reward of so many services; much less to excite anger in the breasts of their Highnesses, to make them ruin him whose services and merits they had acknowledged; at a time when the said Admiral was confident of rendering every day, and did render, great services to their Highnesses, promoting by his industry the present advantage of the said islands, and exercising his powers along with his officers for their population and prosperity.

And this no other person would have done, nor will do; inasmuch as the Indians being entirely unprotected, if he had not previously governed, those, who now possess the government, being anxious to enrich themselves during their administration, will not look to that in future, as the said Admiral did, who looked to their permanent interest, and, depending upon the honour and profit that would result from the good government and protection of the Indians, (who form the principal riches of it,) attended not in the least to his present advantage.

Chapter III.

By the Third Chapter their Highnesses conferred upon him a grant of the tenth part of whatever might be bought, found, or existed within the limits of the foresaid Admiralty, deducting the charges of them.

The meaning of this is, that the foresaid Admiral is to have the tenth of whatever might exist or be found in the said Indies and mainland of the ocean, by any persons whatsoever, singly or jointly, for the advantage of their Highnesses, or of whatever other persons to whom they may have made a grant of it, or of part of it, deducting the expences which the said persons, or their Highnesses, may have incurred.

And their Highnesses cannot in justice grant either the whole or any part of the profit of the said Indies, to any person whatsoever, in prejudice of the said tenth, without their first having to pay, and paying the full tenth thereof to the said Admiral.

For their Highnesses, by making such grants, destroy or diminish that which they formerly conferred upon the said Admiral, leaving it much diminished and dismembered, without an adequate indemnification.

As the grant conferred upon the said Admiral, of the said tenth, was given to him before he discovered the said Indies, and was given and granted as an assistance, reward and recompence, which he had deserved for that service; the foresaid tenth is therefore the principal branch of his clear interest.

And even supposing that their Highnesses, in conformity to an agreement or condition, or in any other manner, were to give the half, or any other part of the gains, to any persons, who might be inclined to take upon them the labour and expences of such an adventure; even in that case the said Admiral ought still to have the tenth of the profits thereof, and of what has been spent by such persons, as well as on the principal part of their Highnesses; since both the one and the other are true and principal gain, and are derived from his Admiralty of the Indies.

Chapter IV.

According to the tenor of the Fourth Chapter, their Highnesses granted to the foresaid Admiral the civil and criminal jurisdiction over every dispute in law connected with the foresaid Indies; and the cognizance of them here, in the parts and places comprehended within the jurisdiction of the Admiral of Castile (it being just).

As an explanation of the judicial power belonging to the Admiral, the latter asserts that the foresaid jurisdiction belongs to him as one of the principal pre-eminences, and, as it were, the arm of the body of his Admiralty, without which it would be very difficult for him to regulate the said Admiralty, or, more properly speaking, it would be altogether useless, because the said jurisdiction is the very essence that honours, animates and sustains the other members of the body of the said Admiralty.

Moreover, that the said cognizance belongs to him, as well in the ports and bays of this kingdom, as in the said islands and main-land, of which he is the Admiral; for if he enjoyed the foresaid jurisdiction only in the courts there, without including in it the causes that emanate from hence, all the contracting parties being natives of this country, and all the traffic and commerce proceeding from hence, his jurisdiction would be almost null, because the individuals who go over to the said Indies, go there only for the purpose of trafficking; but the contracts and agreements of the companies remain here, upon which, on their return, law-suits arise; and the causes of such law-suits proceed from transactions in the traffic and commerce which have been carried on within his Admiralty.

But, if even that Article did not exist, in which express mention is made of the said jurisdiction, it is clear that from the time their Highnesses established the office of the Admiralty of Castile, conjointly with the said Admiralty, they conferred upon the said Admiral the grant of the said jurisdiction, with the foresaid comprehension, as the Admiral of the sea of Castile holds, as the principal pre-eminence of his Admiralty, the jurisdiction of all civil and criminal law-suits appertaining to it; which jurisdiction comprehends all the ports and bays of this country, although out of his Admiralty.

And as to the question, whether it was just to grant him such powers, the foresaid Admiral asserts, that their Highnesses could justly confer them upon him, as kings and sovereign lords, who have absolute power over all, and to whom only such appointment belongs.

And their Highnesses, in conferring the foresaid office upon the said Admiral, with the foresaid comprehension, did no injury to any person, nor affected any one's interests, because his said Admiralty and its jurisdiction, and the Indies and countries over which it is established, were lately and miraculously discovered, united, and brought under the dominion of Castile.

Moreover, the law-suits emanating from the

said Admiralty, on account of the great distance and separation of the countries over which it is established, and being very far from the spot to which the merchants of this country resort, there would be great inconvenience in dividing and separating them from the law-suits appertaining to this country; and by dividing and separating the cognizance of them, no jurisdiction whatsoever could take place. . .

And as their Highnesses, without injury to any individual, and by their sovereign power, did justly make such provision, it is very certain that by it no injustice is committed; because naturally two contraries cannot govern the same subject; that, on the contrary, so foreign are they, and . . . . from existing in one subject, that by the species of one we arrive at a knowledge of the quality of the other: therefore it may be concluded that the said provision is just.

Even the person of the Admiral proves the justice of the said provision; for, taking into consideration the quality of the said West Indies, unknown to all the world, it was necessary to place there a judge of certain experience, in order to execute just judgments: who was there then, who possessed greater experience, or more profound knowledge of the nature of the law-suits connected with them, than that

Admiral who has constantly resided in them, and miraculously found them through his great skill and knowledge of the sea, and by exposing himself to the innumerable dangers of the said sea?

Chapter V.

By the fifth chapter their Highnesses grant to the said Admiral the power of contributing the eighth part of any equipment whatsoever, that may be undertaken for traffic and commerce to the islands and main-land of the said Admiralty; and that thereby he may have the eighth part of the profit of such equipment.

The true meaning of this is, that the said Admiral is to have the eighth of whatever articles, in whatsoever manner they may be transported to the foresaid Indies, although it were for the profit of their Highnesses, or of any other person whatsoever, deducting the eighth of the expences, *pro rata*.

For it must be known that the Admiral contributed his eighth part, and almost half of the expence, of the first fleet, by which the Indies were acquired; by which he obtained a perpetual title to the said eighth, on account of the produce of the said expedition being everlasting.

Moreover: as he originally went expressly to acquire islands and main-land, which are

unchangeable things, it cannot be explained in what manner he would derive any advantage by enjoying the eighth, if it were not understood that moveable things were the scope of the said equipment, as is clearly apparent.

And although the said Admiral in the first expedition did not bring back any moveables from the said Indies, which formed the produce and gain of it, he afterwards however brought the said islands and main-land under the dominion of their Highnesses, and left them peacefully, as their own: and therefore it is likewise understood, that he consigned and made over to their Highnesses all the moveables which then and at all future times should be found in them; wherefore from that time forward their Highnesses could peaceably send for all such things, as their own, whatever person they judged proper.

Allowing, however, that the said Admiral, by his contribution to the first expedition, had not acquired a perpetual right to the foresaid eighth, nevertheless as their Highnesses are under the necessity of fitting out vessels to enjoy the profit of the said Indies, they cannot, in justice, prevent him from concurring in the said expence, and receiving the eighth of the profits: and as the expeditions must continually go on, because the produce of the Indies

is continual, the foresaid eighth must for ever belong to him.

And as it may be said, that such eighth belongs to him out of the profits of the merchandise alone, because it is expressed in the article of traffic and commerce, that merchandise is understood, the truth is, that the said eighth of all the moveables of the Indies belongs specifically to the foresaid Admiral, because the said words *traffic* and *commerce* comprehend every kind of articles that may in any manner or at any time exist.

For the said word *traffic* is the skill or diligence that is employed in obtaining the object of all commerce; and finally, the traffic or method, that was adopted by the said Admiral towards the possessors of the said Indies, which he went to acquire, in order to succeed in his intention, which was to acquire them: and as he acquired them, whatever is obtained from them, is exactly what ought to be divided, as the true produce of such commerce.

And this other word *negotiation* (commerce) comes from *negotium*, which means *nega-otium, quia negotium est quasi nega otium*; so that it is generally understood for every kind of thing whatsoever, and on that very account comprehends every kind of moveable things, that are to be found in the said Indies.

And even supposing, that the foresaid word were not equivocal, and had the precise signification of *merchandise*, it being true that the said Indies and main-land, and particularly Hispaniola, were acquired by the said Admiral rather by gifts of merchandise, than by force of arms, the said Indies with all their products may be justly said to be *mercadas*, (purchased,) and hence *mercaderia*, because from *mercar* is derived the said word *mercaderia*.

Moreover: even though the said Admiral had acquired by force of arms the said Indies, and their Highnesses had sent him expressly for the purpose of trafficking, nevertheless he would not lose his right to the foresaid eighth of them; because the moveables that are found in them, such as gold, pearls, spices, and other articles, are purely and simply *merchandise:* as every moveable article, that can be purchased (excepting consecrated articles) is to be looked upon as merchandise, according to the tenor of the laws, which declare: *omnia sunt in commercio nostro.*

Besides: in whatever manner the Admiral might have accomplished the object of the equipment of the fleet, which was the acquisition of the said Indies, the said Admiral had a right to his eighth; for the gains of the sea, and their chances, are exceedingly various, for-

tunate, uncertain, and unexpected; and whatever results from them must be divided among all, whether it has been obtained by force, or by stratagem: such being the usage of all privateers; of which we have innumerable examples.

For, if any merchants were jointly to fit out a vessel, for the sole purpose of trading in merchandise, and granted the captain permission to contribute a part in the equipment, in order to enjoy a correspondent part in the profit; if, besides trading, he should capture any town, money or vessel of an enemy, it is certain that the same quota of such gain would belong to him, as by right he would have in the merchandise; because, although the gain proceeds not from merchandise, it is the actual result obtained in consequence of the equipment of the vessel.

And if by chance a factor of any company, trading in any kingdom, should obtain the favour of the king of that country, by assisting him with loans, or by selling goods to him at a lower price; and if the company should be dissolved, and it should happen that the said King, through friendship, after such dissolution, were to make him a present of any thing, the factor would be obliged to divide it entirely with his associates, as the real profit obtained

through the company, although it had been dissolved long since: and thus it has been decided every where, and thus the laws of these kingdoms of their Highnesses do declare.

And the same thing happened not long ago in Portugal to a Florentine, the factor of a considerable company in Florence, who, after having rendered many services to the said King by loans, and furnishing him with other goods, was constrained to give a part to his associates of a present, which the King made to him personally through friendship, although the accounts had been already settled, and the company dissolved, it being looked upon as a real profit emanating from the said company.

In like manner a certain Captain Lercar, to whom their Highnesses made a present for the attentions he had shewn to the Archduchess, and as a compensation for the carack, which he lost upon the sand-banks, was, by the courts of law in Genoa, condemned to give up a part of it to his associates, as the real profit; he receiving that portion only, which belonged to him as captain.

And moreover; if by chance any donation should be made by an intimate friend of the father to one of his sons, although all other presents are regarded as *private* property, this

would nevertheless be assigned to the property held in conjunction with the father; because the father was the cause of it: and many other circumstances happen continually, which might be cited upon this head. But passing them over in silence, it will be sufficient to collect from all that has been said, that the third of the said Indies and main-land justly belongs to the said Admiral, as well as the eighth and tenth of all moveable articles, which in them and within the jurisdiction of this Admiralty at whatever time, by whatsoever person, and in any manner whatsoever may be found; they being the real profit of his foresaid first expedition, although he may not have contributed to the others: this having been dwelt upon at length in another writing.

I shall here finish by declaring to their Highnesses, that they conferred the grant of all the said offices upon the Admiral, in the same manner as they are enjoyed by the Admiral of the sea of Castile, and that he should appoint the alguazil and notaries, and order them to execute their duties in his name: and this is conformable to the custom of any knight, to whom their Highnesses may have given any commission or office, as may be seen in the case of many in Castile, who take to themselves the

income, and cause the duty to be performed by one of their servants, or enter into an agreement with some person for that purpose, allowing him a certain portion of the salary: therefore he again supplicates their Highnesses to give him satisfaction, and permit him to execute the duties of the said offices, and enjoy the emoluments thereof; as it was settled by capitulation and special grant.

DOCUMENT XLIV.

Copy of a Letter written by the Admiral to the Nurse of the Prince Don John, (to whom be glory,) in the year 1500, *on his Arrival from the Indies, as a Prisoner.*

MOST HONOURABLE MADAM.

If my complaint against the world is new, its custom of ill treating me is old. A thousand combats I have had with it, and in all have resisted successfully until the present, in which neither arms nor prudence have availed me: it keeps me cruelly overwhelmed. My trust in Him who created all,

alone supports me; His assistance I have ever found near at hand. It is not long since, feeling myself very much depressed, He raised me with His divine hand; saying, "Arise, thou man of little faith, it is I, fear not."

I entered with the most sincere affection into the service of their Highnesses, and I have rendered them such service as was never seen or heard of before.

Of the new firmament and land, which the Lord made, as Saint John writes in the Apocalypse, (after what had been said by the mouth of Isaiah,) He made me His messenger, and pointed out the way to me. All were incredulous. He inspired the Queen, my Lady, His dearly beloved daughter, with the spirit of intelligence, and great strength of mind, to give credit to me. I was to take possession of the whole in her royal name. The ignorance of all of them led them to display their lack of knowledge in magnifying the dangers and expences of the undertaking. Her Highness on the contrary approved of it, and supported it with all her might.

Seven years were passed in treaty, and nine in execution. Most extraordinary and memorable events took place during that time, of which you can have no conception. I declare

upon my honour, that there is not one being, however low, who has not tried to insult and degrade me. Thank Heaven! there are some persons who disapprove of it.

Had I robbed the Indies, or the land contiguous to it, and which . . . . . is now talked of at the altar of Saint Peter, and given them to the Moors, they could not have shewn greater enmity in Spain against me. Who would have believed this of a country, which has always been so renowned for its generosity?

I could have wished much to have freed myself from this affair, if I could have done it with honour towards the Queen. My confidence in God and her Highness, enabled me to persevere; and to alleviate, in some measure, the grief into which she was plunged, by the death of her son, I undertook another voyage to the new heaven and earth, which had, till then, remained concealed. And if here the same importance is not attached to it, as to my former *voyages* to the Indies, it is not to be wondered at; as it served to make my exertions more conspicuous.

The Holy Ghost inflamed Saint Peter, and twelve others with him: all fought there; our sufferings and fatigues were great: at last, however, we were victorious over every thing. This voyage of Paria, I think, might somewhat ap-

pease them, on account of the discovery of pearls and gold in Hispaniola. The pearls which were collected by the people, whom I ordered to go and fish for them, and with whom I agreed to return, may, I think, amount to half a bushel: the reason of my not writing to their Highnesses about it was, that I wished to have done the same previously with respect to the gold. As I was equally successful in this as in many other things, I ought not to lose them, nor my honour, even if I consulted my own advantage; or were I to suffer Hispaniola to be abandoned; and if my privileges and agreements were preserved; and the same remark applies to the gold I have collected there. All which, at the expence of many lives and great sufferings, I have, through Divine Providence, brought to a happy issue. On my return from Paria, I found almost half the people in Hispaniola in a state of insurrection; they have waged war against me even till now, as if I were a Moor, and for other causes the Indians were a grievous source of annoyance. Just then came Fojeda, and attempted to crown all. He pretended that their Highnesses had sent him with promises of gifts, franchises, and liberal pay; he collected together a numerous band, as in the island of Hispaniola there are few who are not vaga-

bonds; and not one with a wife and children. This Fojeda gave me much uneasiness. He was obliged to depart; and he left word that he would soon return with several vessels and people; and that he had left the Queen on her death-bed. Shortly afterwards, Vincent Agnes arrived with four caravels; which occasioned some tumult and alarm, but no mischief. The Indians reported that several others were arrived at the Cannibals and in Paria; and afterwards that six more caravels, bringing a brother of the alcalde, were arrived. But this was with a malicious intention. This at last took place, when almost all hope was abandoned of their Highnesses sending any more vessels to the Indies, nor did we any longer expect it, and it was commonly reported that her Highness was dead.

At this time, a man named Adrian endeavoured to excite another insurrection; but by the blessing of God he did not succeed in his wicked intention. I had resolved within myself never to deprive any one of his life; but with respect to this man, his ingratitude made it impossible for me (and I declare it with tears) to keep my resolution. I would not have acted otherwise with my own brother, had he conspired to murder me, and deprive me of the

government which the King and Queen had confided to my charge.

This Adrian, as it appears, had sent Don Ferdinand to Xoragua, in order to collect together some of his followers; and there he had a quarrel with the alcalde, which was likely to have been attended with fatal consequences. The alcalde seized him with some of his followers, and would have tried and put him to death, had I not prevented it: they were kept in prison, expecting the arrival of some caravel, in which they might have been sent off. The news which I published respecting Fojeda, made them abandon all hopes of his ever coming back again.

For six months I was preparing to return to their Highnesses, with a good account of the gold, and to withdraw myself from the government of such an abandoned race, who neither fear God, the King, nor the Queen, and are wholly given up to wickedness and violence. I should have finished by paying the people with six hundred thousand maravedis; for which purpose I had collected together more than four millions of the tenths, besides the third of the gold.

Before my departure, I several times requested their Highnesses to send out, at my expence, a person entrusted with the administration of justice; and when I found the alcalde

in insurrection, I renewed my supplications to have either some more persons, or an officer of theirs with letters-patent; for such is now my reputation, that although I were to build churches and hospitals, they would always be called dens of robbers.

At last an appointment was made, but it was very different to what the occasion demanded. In God's name let it pass, as it was their pleasure. I remained there two years, without being able to gain the amount of a bushel, either for myself, or for those who were there, whilst he has carried away a coffer full. God knows whether all will terminate to his service. Even from the beginning, exemptions were granted for twenty years, which is the life of a man; and the collection of gold was such, that a person has been known to pay in five marks within four hours: of which I shall speak more particularly hereafter. Having experienced greater mischief from the calumnies of individuals, than advantage from my long services, and the privileges granted to me, it would be an act of charity if their Highnesses would be pleased to dismiss a number of those who have occasioned my sufferings: and my honour would be re-established, and made manifest to the whole world; for such is the quality of the under-

taking, that it increases daily in fame and reputation.

In the mean time, the Commander Bovadilla arrived in St. Domingo: I was then at Vega, and the Prefect in Xoragua, where that Adrian had made himself the head of a party, but where now all was quiet, the country abundant, and in peace. The day after his arrival he caused himself to be proclaimed governor, appointed his officers and courts of justice, and published exemptions from the payments of gold and of tenths, and in general from every thing else for the space of twenty years, which, as I say, is the life of a man; and that he was come to pay every body; although they had not fully served out their time up to that day; and he gave out publicly, that he was to send me and my brothers back in irons, as he has done, and that neither I nor any of my family would ever return there again, circulating a thousand unbecoming and disgraceful reports against me. All this he did on the very day after his arrival, as I have said, I being then absent and at a distance, knowing nothing either of him or of his arrival.

Having brought over with him a considerable number of blank letters, signed by their Highnesses, he filled up some of them to the

alcalde and his consorts, full of favours and commendations; but he never sent either letter or message to me, nor has he ever exchanged a word with me till now. You, Madam, may well imagine what any one in my situation would feel at seeing him thus honour and favour a person who had endeavoured to deprive their Highnesses of their dominion, and who had done so much injury and mischief; and trying to degrade him who has maintained it in the midst of so many dangers!

When I was made acquainted with this, I fancied that he was only doing the same then which Fojeda and some others had done; but I became easier when informed by the friars, that he had been sent out by their Highnesses. I wrote to him to welcome him, and to inform him that I was preparing to return to Spain, having sent all my property to be sold by auction. Respecting the exemptions, I requested him not to be in a hurry, as I would very soon furnish him with the most complete information respecting them and the government. The same I likewise wrote to the friars. But neither he nor they ever returned any answer. On the contrary, he placed himself upon a hostile footing, and obliged all persons who arrived there to take an oath to him as governor; some said for twenty years. No sooner was I in-

formed of his having granted these exemptions, which were wholly unnecessary, and would have been excessive even to persons having wives and children, much more to a set of vagabonds, than with a view to remedy so great an error, (and which I thought he would have been satisfied to do,) I made verbal and written declarations that his powers were incompetent to do so, as mine were the strongest, and I exhibited the exemptions which were brought by Juan Aguado.

This I did to gain time, in order that their Highnesses might be better informed of the state of the country, and have an opportunity of repeating their orders as to what might be most beneficial for their service.

It is useless to publish such exemptions in the Indies. To the colonists, who have had grants of lands, they are complete gain, because the best lands were given to them, which, at a low valuation, will be worth two hundred thousand dollars, at the end of four years, when the grant of the land will expire, without their ever having stuck a spade into it. I should not say this, if the colonists were married; but there are not five among them all, who would not be ready to collect all they could, and depart at a moment's notice. It would be adviseable to have Castilians, and also to know who

and what they are, and that the country should be peopled by respectable persons.

I had made an agreement with the colonists, to whom these grants were made, that they should pay the third of the gold, and the tenths; this was at their own request, and they received it as an especial favour of their Highnesses. As I learned, however, that they did not perform their agreement, I revoked the grants; and I did hope that the Commander would have concurred with me in that measure, but he did quite the contrary.

He irritated them against me, by saying that I wanted to deprive them of what their Highnesses had granted to them; and endeavoured to set them at variance with me, in which he has succeeded; and induced them to write to their Highnesses never to send me back again to my government; (I must make the same supplication for myself and for all my family, unless there be a different kind of people sent out;) he along with them caused such wicked inquisitions regarding me, as nothing similar was ever known even in hell. But the Lord, who saved Daniel and the three youths by His wisdom and His power, watches over us, and in like manner, if such be His will, He can deliver us.

I could remedy all this, and all that I have

stated to have happened, since my arrival in the Indies, if I were merely seeking my own advantage, or considered it honourable. But I have been hitherto restrained by my desire of maintaining justice, and increasing the dominions of their Highnesses. Now that so much gold is found, there is a difference of opinion, whether it is not more profitable to go about robbing, than to go to the mines. They will as readily pay a hundred castellanos for a woman as for a farm, and it is now very common to see dealers going prowling about for girls of nine or ten years of age: now women of all ages are in request.

In saying that the Commander could not grant exemptions, I assert that I did what was proper; as I informed him it was for the purpose of creating delay, in order to allow time for their Highnesses to receive information from thence, to reconsider, and give such orders as might be beneficial to their service.

He excited universal enmity against me, and it would appear from what has happened, and from his behaviour, that he came out as my determined enemy; or it may be true what is reported, that he put himself to great expence, to obtain this employment: the truth I know not. But this I know, that nobody ever heard of an inquisitor bringing forward rebels and

admitting them as witnesses against their governor; and not them only, but others totally unworthy of the least credit.

If their Highnesses were to give orders for a general inquiry here, I assure you it would discover such things as to make it wonderful that the island was not swallowed up.

I think you will remember, Madam, that when I was driven by a storm into Lisbon, with not a sail remaining, I was falsely accused of going there to the King, in order to deliver up the Indies to him. Their Highnesses soon knew the contrary, and that it was all said through malice.

However ignorant I may be, nobody can suppose me so ignorant as not to know, that if the Indies were mine, I should not be able to keep possession of them without the assistance of a prince. Such being the case, where could I find greater support, and more certainty of not being entirely driven from them, than in the King and Queen, our Lords, who from nothing have raised me to such high honour, and who by sea and land are the greatest princes in the world? Who look upon themselves as indebted to me, and preserve to me the privileges and favours they have granted me; and if any one seeks to diminish them, their Highnesses enlarge them still more, (as may be seen in the affair of Juan

Aguado,) and order great honour to be shewn to me; and, as I have already told you, Madam, acknowledge my services, and have made my children their servants: none of which things I could expect from any other prince; for where there is no affection, all the rest is as nothing.

What I have now unwillingly stated, is merely to refute a malicious calumny, which I should rather wish to banish from my memory, as the behaviour and actions of the Commander Bovadilla would maliciously give another colour to it: but I shall be able to prove that his ignorance, extreme cowardice, and immoderate cupidity, have been the causes of all that has happened.

I have already mentioned, that I wrote to him and to the friars; I immediately departed alone, as I had written to him, as the troops were with the Prefect, and likewise to remove his suspicions. As soon as he heard of that, he seized Don Diego, and sent him on board a caravel loaded with fetters; he did the same to me on my arrival, as well as to the Prefect when he came. He neither spoke to me himself nor permitted any one else to speak to me until now: and upon my oath I declare to you, that I have no idea why I am imprisoned.

His first step was to take all the gold that

was found, without either measuring or weighing it; and as I was absent, he said that he would pay the people with it; and according to what I have heard, he took the first part for himself, and appointed new collectors for the ransoms. I had put aside as specimens of the gold, a number of pieces, some as large as a goose's egg, others as a hen's or pullet's egg, and of various other shapes, collected by different persons in a short time, in order to please their Highnesses, and to enable them thereby to judge of the value of the enterprize, together with a considerable quantity of large stones full of gold. These were the first things he gave away maliciously; in order that their Highnesses might look upon the matter as of no trifling importance, until he had feathered his nest, which he takes every method of doing quickly.

The gold which has to be melted, loses in the process. Chains which would weigh as much as twenty marks, are no longer to be seen. I have suffered greater loss with respect to the gold than the pearls, because I have not brought it with me to their Highnesses.

The Commander immediately employed every means that he could think of to injure me. I have already mentioned that with six hundred thousand maravedis I would have paid

every body, without injuring any person, and that I possessed more than four millions of tenths in the Alguazilat, without touching the gold. He bestowed such largesses as excited the laughter of every body; although, I believe, he began by taking the best part for himself. Their Highnesses will be satisfied of this when they order an account to be taken, and especially if I should be present. He is continually reporting that there is a large debt owing, but it is not so great as I said it was. I have suffered great injury by their having sent out an Inquisitor over me, who knew that if he could substantiate any heavy charge against me, the government would be conferred upon him.

Would to God that their Highnesses had sent out him, or any other person, two years ago; because I should now be freed from this scandal and infamy, nor should I lose or be deprived of my honour. God is just, and will make manifest the why and the wherefore. There they judge me, as if I were a governor of Sicily, or of a city or town placed under regular government; and where the laws could be strictly executed, without fear of the consequences. This I consider as very unfair towards me.

I ought to be judged as a captain, who went from Spain to the Indies to conquer a numerous

and warlike people, whose customs and ideas are entirely different from ours, inhabiting a rugged and mountainous country, without any regular towns like our own; by God's blessing I have already brought under the dominion of the King and Queen, our Lords, another world; by which Spain, which was looked upon as poor, is become very rich.

I ought to be judged as a captain, who for a length of time, up to this very day, have borne arms without ever quitting them; and by real warriors, such as myself, and not by lawyers, unless they were Greeks and Romans, or any modern nation; of such there are so many great and noble ones in Spain. To be judged in any other way is doing me great injustice, as there are no towns nor regular community in the Indies.

The road to the country of gold and pearls is now open, and abundance of them may be firmly expected, as well as precious stones, spices, and a thousand other articles; and may nothing worse ever happen to me than what if it please God the first voyage would give me, as well as what would be produced by the commerce of Arabia Felix as far as Mecca, as I wrote to their Highnesses through Anthony de Torres, in my answer respecting the division of the land and sea with the Portuguese; and

afterwards I would go as far as Calicut, as I also mentioned to them, and represented to them in writing the monastery of La Mejorada.

The news of the gold, which I said I would give them, are, that on the day of the Nativity, being very much afflicted, harassed by wicked Christians, and the Indians, and on the point of abandoning every thing, to save, if it were possible, my life, Our Lord miraculously comforted me, and said: Be of good cheer, and not disheartened nor afraid; I will remedy all. The seven years of the term of the gold are not elapsed: for this and for the rest I will provide for you. On the very same day I learnt that eighty leagues of land, and mines at every cape had been discovered; at present it is believed that they form but one. Some persons collect 120 castellanos in one day, others 110, and some have obtained as many as 250. Several others from 50 to 70, many from 20 up to 50, which is looked upon as a good day's work; and many continue to do so regularly. The average is from six to twelve, and whoever gathers less is dissatisfied. Wherefore it seems that these mines are like the others, which do not every day make an equal return. But the mines and the collectors are new. It is the general opinion, that if even the whole popula-

tion of Castile were to flock there, however lazy a person might be, he would not gain less than one or two castellanos a day, and it is to be considered that this is only the beginning. You may form then an idea of Bovadilla's discretion in giving away all for nothing, and four millions of tenths, without any motive, without being requested to do it, and without even informing their Highnesses of it. Nor is this the only mischief; I know that whatever errors I may have committed were not done with a bad intention, and I think that their Highnesses give me that credit; and as I know and perceive that they shew mercy even to those who have wickedly rendered them a disservice, so I regard it as certain that they will shew greater compassion to me, who have fallen into those errors through ignorance, and, as it were, by force, as they will hereafter be fully informed; and that they will take into consideration my services, and will perceive daily the great advantages of them. They will place all in the balance, as the Holy Scripture declares will be done by the good and bad on the day of judgment.

If nevertheless they should give orders for me to be judged by others, which I hope will not be the case, and impeach me respecting the affairs of the Indies, I most humbly supplicate

them to send out, at my expence, two conscientious and honourable persons, who, I hope, will be easily met with, now that gold to the amount of five marks may be found in the space of four hours. At all events it is necessary that such be appointed.

The Commander, on his arrival at St. Domingo, took up his abode in my house, and possessed himself of whatever he found in it; be it so, in God's name, for perhaps he was in want of it. But never did a pirate behave worse towards merchants whom he had captured. I am grieved still more for my papers, which he also took from me: he kept those diligently concealed which were most necessary for my justification. What a just and upright inquisitor! Whatever he has done, they assure me has been executed within the bounds of justice: except absolutely . . . . . God our Lord is present by his goodness and wisdom, according to his custom, and punishes especially all ingratitude and injustice.

The originals of these privileges, letters, and grants, and many other papers of their Highnesses, and other writings respecting the said Admiral, are preserved in the monastery of Santa Maria de las Cuevas in Seville.

In the said monastery there is also a copy of the book of the foresaid privileges and letters, similar to this. Another copy was taken of it this year, 1502, and is preserved by Don Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal in the Indies, written on paper and legalized.

Another copy on parchment, similar to this.

AUTOGRAPH LETTERS

OF

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

LETTER I.

ADDRESSED TO

THE AMBASSADOR, MR. NICOLO ODERIGO.

SIR,

IT is impossible to describe the solitude which your departure has caused among us. I gave the book of my privileges to Mr. Fr^co^. di Rivarolo, in order that he might forward it to you along with a copy of the missive letters. I beg of you, as a particular favour, to write to Don Diego, to acknowledge their receipt and to mention where they are deposited. Another copy shall be finished and sent to you in the same manner and by the said Mr. Fr^co^. You will find another letter in it, in which their Highnesses have promised to give me all that belongs to me, and to put Don Diego in possession of it, as you will see. I am writing to Signor Gian Luigi, and to the Signora Caterina, and the letter will accompany this. I shall depart in the name of the Holy Trinity with

the first favourable weather, with a considerable equipment. If Girolamo da Santo Stefano* comes, he must wait for me, and not entangle himself with any one, for they will get from him whatever they can, and then leave him in the lurch. Let him come here, and he will be received by the King and Queen until I arrive. May our Lord have you in his holy keeping! March 21, 1502, in Seville.

At your commands.

S.
S. A. S.
X. M. Y.
X p̃o FERENS.

LETTER II.

ADDRESSED TO

THE MOST LEARNED DOCTOR NICOLO ODERIGO.

Learned Sir,

When I set off upon the voyage, from which I have just returned, I spoke to you fully: I have no doubt you retained a

* There is a Narrative of a voyage of this navigator along with Girolamo Adorno, in *Ramusio's* Collection, vol. i. p. 382.

complete recollection of every thing. I expected, upon my arrival, to have found here letters, and possibly a confidential person from you. At that time I likewise gave to Francesco di Rivarolo a book of copies of my letters, and another of my privileges, in a bag of coloured Spanish leather, with a silver lock, and two letters for the Bank of St. George, to which I assigned the tenth of my revenues in diminution of the duties upon corn and other provisions: no acknowledgment of all this has reached me. Sig. Francesco tells me that all arrived there in safety. If so, it was uncourteous in those gentlemen of St. George not to have favoured me with an answer: nor have they thereby improved their affairs: which gives one cause to say, that whoever serves the public, serves nobody. I gave another book of my privileges, like the above, in Cadiz, to Franco Cattaneo, the bearer of this, in order that he might likewise forward it to you; and that both of them might be placed in a place of security, wherever you thought proper. Just before my departure I received a letter from the King and Queen my Lords: a copy of which you will find there. You will see that it came very opportunely; nevertheless Don Diego was not put into possession, as had been there promised.

While I was in the Indies, I wrote to their

Highnesses an account of my voyage by three or four opportunities: one of my letters having come back to my hands, I send it to you inclosed in this, with the supplement of my voyage in another letter, in order that you may give it to Mr. Gian Luigi with the other of advice, to whom I write that you will be the reader and interpreter of it. I would wish to have ostensible letters, speaking cautiously of the matter, in which we are engaged. I arrived here very unwell, just before the Queen my mistress died, (who is now with God) without my seeing her.* Till now I cannot say how my affairs will finish: I believe her Highness has provided well for them in her last will: and the King my master is very well disposed. Franco Cattaneo will explain the rest more minutely to you. May our Lord preserve you in his care! Seville, 27th December, 1504.

S.
S. A. S.
X. M. Y.
XpOFERENS.

Admiral of the Ocean, Viceroy
and Governor General of the
Indies, &c.

* Queen Isabella died at Medina del Campo, on the 29th of November, 1504, in the 54th year of her age.

COPY OF A LETTER

WRITTEN BY THE MAGISTRATE OF ST. GEORGE'S TO COLUMBUS.

Ill. Vir et clarissime amantissimeque Concivis et Domine memorandissime. The distinguished Jurisconsult, Messer Nicolo de Oderigo, on his return from the embassy to which he was appointed from our illustrious Republic to the most excellent and glorious Monarchs (of Spain), delivered me a letter from your Excellency, which gave me singular pleasure, from the affectionate regard, so conformable to your disposition, which your Excellency therein exhibited towards your native country; to which you have shewn most singular love and charity in wishing it to be partaker of the favours which it has pleased Divine Providence to bestow upon your Excellency. Your foresaid country and people must feel what singular profit and advantage they will derive from the orders you have given to Don Diego, your son, that the tenth of your annual revenues should be paid to this city in diminution of the duties on corn, wine, and other provisions. Nothing can be more charitable nor more memorable than this, or will tend more to the remembrance of your glory, which in other respects is as great and extraordinary as, according to history, any man

in the world has ever acquired; having by your own perseverance, energy and prudence discovered so large a portion of this earth and globe of the lower world, which for so many centuries past had remained unknown to the people of that which we inhabit. But this great exercise of your extraordinary glory is, in truth, much more memorable and complete, as proceeding from the humanity and benignity which it proves you possess towards the country of your birth: on which account we praise, as it deserves, your disposition, and pray to God to preserve you many years. We shall always bear that affection towards your most illustrious son, Don Diego, which he is entitled to as being your son, and from the splendour and glory of your actions, of which this our common country is proud of having its part. To Don Diego we have expressed by letter, as we now do to your Excellency, our readiness to do every thing in our power for the honour and advantage of your illustrious family. The above-mentioned Messer Nicolo has related to us many things respecting your favours and privileges, of which he has brought copies here, with which we were much gratified, and return you everlasting thanks for those of which you have made us partakers. From Genoa, the 8th of December, MDII.

LETTER *of* PHILIP THE SECOND, *King of Spain, congratulating the most Illustrious* OTTAVIANO ODERICO, *on his being elected Doge of the most Serene Republic of Genoa.*

DON PHILIP,

By the grace of God King of Spain, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, &c.

ILLUSTRIOUS and well-beloved. By the correspondence of our Ambassador Figueroa we have been informed of the election that has been made of your person as Doge of that illustrious Republic; and we have been much gratified by it: for, with the good qualifications that he writes to us are united in you, it is to be hoped that you will govern it in a manner conducive to its prosperity; which I desire so sincerely, that for that respect, and for what regards yourself in particular, I have written instructions to my said Ambassador, to visit you, and congratulate you on my part, and to tell you something else, which you will hear from him, requesting you to yield entire faith and credit to him; and that you may regard it as certain, that in all that happens in which the Republic is concerned, we will always act with

+

Primera

la soledad q̃ nos hazes
desear no ser nunca dexar / el libro de mys deseos
vos, de amar fr̃e S. Hieronymo, q̃ en el leer q̃ en otro
hablar de cartas mensajeras, de tiempo y el lugar
q̃ por myo q̃ vello q̃ no pude por mudar / q̃ lo vistes myo
señor dirigo / otro tal q̃ acabara / yo. os q̃ hiziera
por la misma guisa / q̃ el mismo m. fr̃e / q̃ vello
folleruelo q̃ esta nuestra // .S. a. me prometistes
de me dar todo lo q̃ me plazer q̃ poner q̃ posesio
de todo vos S. como hazedor / al q̃ amar fuy
luego y la q̃ madona catalina vino // la carta
con q̃ vos / yo estoy de partida q̃ no sabes de la
santa trinidad q̃ esperar [illegible] // q̃ mysa acabó
q̃ geronimo de santistaba q̃ me dexar esperar
yo no q̃ vos / car q̃ agua / por q̃ tomar. de lo
q̃ pudistes y dexastes de dexar q̃ blanco / hazer
ar y vos y q̃ hazer q̃ de hazer. fasta q̃ no hazer
no q̃ os agua q̃ no q̃ guarda / hazer a vos /
de marca q̃ estrella q̃ S. a

vro q̃ mãdar S.

.S.
.g. A .S.
X M y
Xp̃o FERENS

al Señor Chapa
de mi mayor aprecio
Vigo

Alumnus Wilhelmi
de
Bolzano

the same good will as in past times; because we feel as much interest for its affairs as we do for our own, as before this you may have been able to perceive, and as our Ambassador will declare to you more fully, to whom we refer ourselves.

Madrid, 6th November, 1566.

I THE KING.

G. PEREZ.

Addressed

To our illustrious, faithful and beloved Ottaviano Gentil di Oderico, Doge of Genoa.

ERRATUM.

Page 196. lines 5 and 6. *for* with the same appointments as those of Don Diego, *read* and that his allowance be given to Don Diego.

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* This word is not distinguishable.

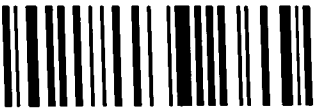
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